MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE OF THE ELDER SCIPIO AFRICANUS

EDWARD BERWICK

MEMOIRS

OF

THE LIFE

OF

THE ELDER

SCIPIO AFRICANUS;

WITH

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

BY

THE REV. EDWARD BERWICK.

Scipio Africanus superior, quem dii immortales nasci voluerunt, ut esset in quo se virtus per omnes numeros hominibus efficaciter ostenderet.

VALERIUS MAXIMUS.

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TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

HENRY GRATTAN,

AS A SMALL, BUT SINCERE TRIBUTE OF ESTEEM AND GRATITUDE,

THIS LIFE

OF

SCIPIO AFRICANUS,

IS HUMBLY DEDICATED,

BY HIS ATTACHED FRIEND,

AND DEVOTED HUMBLE SERVANT,

EDWARD BERWICK.

Esker, July, 1817.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THERE have been several Lives composed of Scipio Africanus the Elder by ancient writers, of which no fragments now remain. Aulus Gellius mentions the names of two of them, Caius Oppius, and Julius Hyginus, who lived in the reign of Augustus. The loss of the Life of Scipio, supposed to be written by Plutarch, is the one principally to be regretted. Of his modern Biographers, one wrote in Latin, and the other in French. The name of the first is Donoto Accioli, a Florentine, who flourished in the fifteenth century: his Life of Scipio was translated into French by Charles de l'Escluse, and from French into English by Sir Thomas North, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The name of the French Biographer is the Abbé Seran de la Tour, who wrote about the middle of the last century. His Life was translated into English by the Rev. Richard Parry, in the year 1787. It may excite some surprise, that no historical memorial of such an illustrious man was ever undertaken by an English writer, except a very abridged one by a Mr. Smith of Preston, in the year 1713. Whether the following Sketch, which is now humbly offered to

the Public, agreeably to promise, does sufficient justice to his character, must be left to the judgment of the candid reader.

Dr. Warburton observed with some justness of wit, that Mallet, in his Life of Bacon, had forgotten that he was a philosopher. If a like observation should be applied to the Editor of the present Life, that he has forgotten that Scipio was a general, he must bow with submission, as the battle of Zama alone has obtained a place in the following compilation; Scipio being, in his mind, much more interesting in his civil, than military capacity, though in the latter he outstripped the greatest captain that ever lived.

The Editor intends, should the present account of Scipio receive the approbation of the public, to give an Historical Sketch of such other branches of that Noble Family, as induced the historian of the Roman Empire to denominate Italy the country of the Scipios. A Pedigree of the Family will be given, to illustrate the whole.

MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE

OF

SCIPIO AFRICANUS.

Clarorum virorum atque magnorum non minus otii, quam negotii rationem exstare oportere.

MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE

OF

SCIPIO AFRICANUS.

PUBLIUS CORNELIUS SCIPIO, distinguished from the great men of his family by the sirname of Africanus, was the son of Publius Cornelius Scipio, and born in Rome in the year of the city five hundred and seventeen[1]. Of such particulars as may have attended his early life, history is silent: the name of his mother Pomponia is barely mentioned, but that of his preceptor is not; consequently it is useless to form any conjectures relative either to the kind of education he received, or to the care and pains which were expended on it. We may naturally suppose he had the best masters to instruct him

[1] Auspicatius enectâ parentê gignuntur: sicut Scipio Africanus prior natus, primusque Cæsarum à cæso matris utero dictus: quâ de causâ et Cæsones appellati.—PLINY, l. 7, c. 9.

in whatever learning was then in fashion at Rome, as well as in the elements and general principles of the military profession. If he had not the properest masters provided for this purpose, he had at least in his own family, his father and uncle, with whom he served his first campaign at the age of seventeen. Until that period, his name is not noticed in history, and at that time indeed he appears in a light, which claims our particular attention, and makes him an object of peculiar interest. He appears in the most arduous struggle which ever engaged two powerful nations; a struggle in which mankind witnessed the most splendid display of heroic virtues ever exhibited to the world. For Rome, at that crisis, relying on the wisdom of her senate, the courage of her people, and the magnanimity of both, found resources in herself adequate to her situation, and rose from every defeat more glorious, and more formidable[2].

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[2] At Patres, quanquam exterrent immania cœpta,
Inque sinu bellum; atque Alpes, et pervia saxa
Decepêre: tamen crudam contra aspera mentem,
Et magnos tollunt animos: juvat ire periclis
Ad decus, et dextrâ memorandum condere nomen,
Quale dedit nunquam rebus fortuna secundis.

SILIUS ITALICUS, l. 4, l. 33.

Through wounds, through losses no decay can feel,
Collecting strength and spirit from the steel[3].

At this premature age the young Scipio was placed by his father on a rising ground, with a few select attendants, near the river Ticinus, at the moment when the battle, which gives it celebrity, was fought on its banks[4]. During the engagement his father, who commanded the Roman legions, was severely wounded[5], and appeared as if in danger of being surrounded by a large body of the enemy. The son, alarmed at what he beheld, called to his companions to run to his father's assistance: for a time his young friends seemed to hesitate, on which the youth drove his horse with great impetuosity into the midst of the assailants[6], and with the

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[3] Per damna, per cædes, ab ipso
Ducit opes, animumque ferro.
HORACE, *Odes* l. 4, o. 4.

[4] Valerius Maximus.—L. 5, c. 4.

[5] Hîc, puer ut patrio defixum corpore telum
Conspexit, maduere genæ, subitoque trementem
Corripuit pallor, gemitumque ad sidera rupit.
SIL. l. 4, l. 455.

[6] ——Fertur per tela, per hostes
Intrepidus puer, et Gradivum passibus æquat.
SILIUS, l. 4, l. 460.

assistance of those who were now ashamed not to follow, rescued his father from most imminent danger[7].

——At seventeen years,
When Carthage made a head for Rome, he fought
Beyond the mark of others[8].

The consul was the first to proclaim aloud that he owed his preservation to his son, and greeted him with the glorious title of Deliverer[9]. On returning to his camp, he ordered a civic crown[10] to be presented to him, which was refused with this magnanimous declaration, "that the action was one that rewarded itself."

——He rewards
His deeds with doing them.

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[7] Livy, l. 21, c. 96.

[8] Shakespeare.

[9] Cælius the historian, ascribes the honor of the consul's preservation to a Ligurian slave; but the report of one writer cannot prevail against a host of others. Now what does Polybius say? He asserts that he had the anecdote from the mouth of Lælius.

[10] Civica Corona appellatur, quam civis civi, à quo servatus est, in prælio testem vitæ, salutisque perceptæ dat.—Aulus Gellius.

It is on this occasion Pliny[1] makes the following judicious reflection, in application to the materials of that crown, which consisted only of a few oaken boughs. "How incomparable the morality of those days, and justly deserving of immortality. How refined the wisdom of the men, who conferred no higher reward on noble exploits and distinguished worth, than honor alone; and inasmuch as all other military crowns are enriched and adorned with gold, our ancestors would not set the life of a citizen at any price: a plain proof of the excellency of their feelings, who would have blushed at mixing views of interest with an action so natural, as that of one citizen saving the life of another."

The above amiable instance of filial affection, Polybius says[2], he learned from the mouth of the elder Lælius, who was witness to all the words and actions of Scipio, from his childhood to his death. By such a display of virtuous magnanimity, Scipio acquired the reputation of a man, whose courage was undaunted, and whose conduct was guided in all his actions by good sense and prudence[3]. Such an action,

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[1] Pliny, l. 16, c. 4.

[2] Lib. 10.

[3] Avoir conservi toute la presence et la fermetè d'esprit

with the circumstances attending it, was in itself sufficient to excite the ambition, which a young Roman of high birth might feel, and one of such a nature as might encourage him to raise his hopes to the most glorious enterprises. It proved to Scipio an incentive to his seizing every opportunity that occurred, of displaying his zeal and courage in defence of his country. The next interesting situation in which we find our young hero placed, is that which immediately succeeded the battle of Cannæ[4]; a situation the most critical in the history of Rome, when the fates of the civilised world were suspended between two rival nations. Scipio was a legionary tribune on that unfortunate day; and when he found that the battle was lost, he withdrew the evening after it,

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necessaires, pour agir dans une rencontre si inopinèè, et si malheureuse dans sa premiere campagne, et à l'age de dix sept ans, si ce n'est pas la vraie valeur, j'avoue que je ne m'y connois pas.—L'Abbe de Saint-Real, *de la Valeur.*

[4] Silius Italicus gives Scipio a share *in the battle:*

His super, insidias contra, Nomadumque volucrem
Scipiadæ datur ire manum, quæque artê, dolisque
Scindent se turmæ, prædicit spargere bellum.

Sil. i. 9, l. 275.

with some young friends, to Canusium[5], a town in the vicinity of Cannæ, still adhering to the interest of the republic. At this important crisis he shewed what the patriotic zeal of a young Roman, governed by the prudence and steadiness of riper years, was able to accomplish. All was dismay and confusion; terror was painted in the countenances of both officers and men. At such a moment, all present with one voice chose him their captain, together with Appius Claudius, until they should be able to rejoin their superior officers. Whilst they were considering what was best to be done, Publius

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[5] Canusium oppidum Apuliæ, ubi suscepti Romani hospitio, fractis rebus.

The picture of the distressed condition of the broken remains of the Roman army collected at Canusium, is well pourtrayed by Silius Italicus in his tenth book:

——Heu rebus facies inhonora sinistris.
Non aquilæ, non signa viris, non consulis altum
Imperium, non subnixæ lictore secures.
Trunca, atque ægra metu, ceu magnâ elisa ruinâ
Corpora debilibus nituntur sistere membris.
Clamor sæpe repens, et sæpe silentia fixis
In tellurem oculis; nudæ plerisque sinistræ
Detrito clypeo: desunt pugnacibus enses:
Saucius omnis eques: galeis carpsêre superbum,
Cristarum decus, et damnârunt Martis honores.

Furius Philus, the son of a consular man, came forward and said[6], "That it was in vain for them to cherish hopes which were now irretrievable; that the commonwealth was despaired of, and given up as lost; that several young men of the first families in Rome, at the head of whom was Lucius Cecilius Metellus[7], were resolved to embark at the first port, and fly from Italy, to put themselves under the protection of any king who would give them an asylum in his dominions." This afflicting news, independent of the serious evil it carried along with it, succeeding so suddenly such a train of misfortunes, struck the meeting at once with affright and horror. All unanimously gave it as their opinion, that a council should be summoned to take into consideration the nature of the intelligence. Scipio, who was not more than nineteen years of age, whom the fates had

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[6] Livy, l. 22, c. 53.

[7] Dux erat ex illo collectis Martê Metellus,
Sed stirpe haud parvi cognominis. Is mala bello
Pectora, degeneremque manum ad deformia agebat
Consulta; atque alio positas spectabat in orbe,
Quîs sese occulerent terras; quò nomina nulla
Pœnorum, aut patriæ penetraret fama relictæ.
SILIUS, l. 10, l. 420.

predestinated to be the great captain and conductor of this war, declared[8], "That the business demanded vigour and action, not deliberation; that all who wished the preservation of the republic, should attend him armed, as they were; for, (said he), no place can with more truth be called the camp of the enemy, than that wherein such counsels are debated[9]." Forthwith attended by a few, he burst like lightning into the chamber of Metellus, where finding the young patricians met in deep consultation, he drew his sword, and holding it over their heads as they sat, thus addressed them: "I swear that I will never abandon the republic of the Roman people, nor suffer one of her citizens to desert it. If knowingly I break this oath, then do you, Jupiter, supremely good and great, overwhelm with ruin myself, my house, my family, and my fortune. I call on you, Metellus, I call on all who are present, to take the same oath. Whoever will not swear, let that

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[8] "Audendum atque agendum, non consultandum, in tanto malo esse. Irent secum extemplo armati, qui rempublicam salvam vellent. Nullo verius, quam ubi ea cogitentur, hostium castra esse."—Such is the concise and spirited language of Livy, l. 22, c. 53.

[9] Val. Maximus, l. 5, c. 6.

man know that against him this sword is drawn." By such a glorious display of manly patriotism, the god-like youth not only presented an example of piety in his own person, but recalled it at the moment when forsaking the breasts of others[10]. Struck with as much astonishment as if they had seen the victorious Carthaginian in the room, they all took the oath, and committed themselves and fortunes to the guidance of Scipio.

——He stopt the fliers[1],
And by his rare example, made the coward
Turn terror into sport.

Thus did the gallant youth, after saving his father's life at the battle of Ticinus, save his country after the battle of Cannæ; and shewed himself worthy of the choice they had made. Scipio remained for some time at Canusium[2], and

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[10] Val. Maximus, l. 5, c. 6.

[1] Cladê Cannènsi nobilissimos juvenes, Italiam deserere cupientes, sua auctoritate compescuit.—AUR. VICTOR.

[2] Appian, without any allusion to this magnanimous conduct of the young Scipio, says that Varro, after collecting the remains of his broken army as well as he could at Canusium, marched for Rome, leaving the command of them to Scipio, a military tribune.

the parts adjacent, animating whatever remains of the scattered army could be collected, with whom he acted until he was superseded by Marcellus on his assuming the command. At this time his father and uncle were employed in Spain, and their success was of that encouraging nature at first, as to inspire his elder brother Lucius with the hopes of offering himself a candidate for the ædileship.

This incident afforded his younger brother another opportunity of presenting himself in such an amiable point of view, as serves to keep up the interest already excited in his favour. Lucius possessed all the legal qualifications necessary for the office, and wanted only the affections of the people. His mother was particularly anxious he should succeed, and for promoting his success, had recourse, as was usual, to prayers and sacrifices. Publius, who warmly espoused the feelings of his mother, possessed the affections of the people, but had not the qualifications which were required by law. When the day of election was at hand, he told his mother he had twice dreamed the same dream, which was as follows: "That he thought he was chosen Ædile with his brother, and that when they were returning home from the forum, she had met them at the door, and had embraced

and kissed them." Their parent's heart was extremely affected by what she heard, and giving herself up, with all maternal affection, to the flattering delusion, cried out, "O that I might live to see that day!" "Do you consent then, my mother, (said Publius), to our making the trial?" To this she replied in the affirmative, never suspecting, from his time of life, that he would venture to make it, but merely supposing that he spoke in jest. However, without saying another word to his mother, he ordered a white gown to be got ready, such as is worn by candidates for offices. It is probable his mother never troubled herself more about the matter. But next morning, while she was asleep, Scipio put on the candidate's gown, and went to the forum. The people, who were all prepossessed in his favour, received him with shouts of applause: when advancing to the place where the candidates were standing, he took his station by the side of his brother, whose election he carried, and his own likewise[3]. The

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[3] Heureux presentiment des Romains, qui ne purent trop tot ouvrir l'entrée des charges à deux Heros, dont l'un conquit l'Afrique, et l'autre l'Asie; et qui prendront dans la suite les surnoms, l'un d'Africane, l'autre d'Asiatique.—Catrou et Rouille, *Hist. Rom.*

news of their success was immediately conveyed to their mother, who in a transport of joy ran out, and meeting them both at the door, embraced and kissed them. From the circumstances attending this election, Polybius says, an opinion became prevalent among all who heard the story of the dream, that Scipio, not only when asleep, but whilst awake in full possession of his understanding, held familiar converse with the gods. Yet it was from no dream he derived any assistance in this business; but being by nature generous, magnificent, and courteous in his manners, he had previously conciliated the favour of the multitude, and when the proper time arrived, had the address to use it both with the people and his mother: from this originated the idea of his acting under the impulse of divine admonition. Men, observes Polybius, who have not the discernment either from nature or education, to view distinctly the times, the causes, and the courses of actions, generally ascribe those events to the gods or to fortune, which are brought about by the expert and ready management of good sense and reason. The relation we have now given of Scipio's appointment to the office of ædile, before he was of age, is taken from Polybius;

and the reflection which the historian makes on the dream, is its natural and obvious interpretation, when applied to a young man of such good sense and sound judgment.

Livy gives an account of the preceding transaction, with some circumstances which still render it more interesting. When Scipio appeared in the morning of his election, the tribunes of the people were determined to give him every opposition in their power: a conduct on the part of these magistrates, neither unusual, nor unexpected. They declared that it was quite unprecedented for any one to demand the ædileship at his time of life; that the candidate was only in his twenty-first year, when by law he should be in his thirty-seventh; to which they added, that if he was elected, they would never sanction it with their approbation. The reputation of men is greatly affected by the first steps they take in life, for on them often depends their good or ill fortune. It was hazardous for a young man to oppose the tribunitial power; and to pay it abject submission was not unaccompanied with some danger. Probably such a reflection occurred to Scipio, and was duly weighed by him, but he was determined to persevere. What passed at the time

of his election, is given by Livy with his usual elegance and simplicity. The plebeian tribunes insisted that he ought not to be admitted as a candidate till he was of the age required by law: to this objection the youth is said to have replied in the following energetic terms: "Si me, omnes Quirites ædilem facere volunt, satis annorum habeo[4]." If all the Romans wish to make me an ædile, I am old enough. This appeal to the feelings of the Roman people, conveys both the beauty and brevity of the Latin language, and presents to us some idea of Scipio's manly and original character. But though this address to the Roman people was full of high and haughty humour, and highly offensive to the tribunes, it flattered the pride of the electors, who with one voice nominated him and his brother ædiles, which was a mark of the highest favour and distinction in their power to bestow, as the ædileship was the first public preferment that was properly called a magistracy.

In what manner Scipio passed his time (except in the instance of this election), from the year of the battle of Cannæ in 537, until the

[4] Livy, l. 25, c. 2.

year 542, in which he was appointed proconsul in Spain, after the death of his father and uncle[5], is not noticed in any surviving history. In that year the command in Spain became vacant, and the consternation in the city through all ranks of the people was extremely great. Not one of the senators[6] had the courage to solicit the situation, which was then vacant in that country; and the senate itself was at a loss whom they should appoint to so important a command[7]. "When the day arrived," says Sir Walter Raleigh, "on which a proconsul for Spain was to be chosen, all the senators and chief men of the city stood looking one another in the face, not one of them having the heart to adventure himself on such a desperate service, when on a sudden Publius Cornelius Scipio,

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[5] Dum Capua infaustam luit haud sine sanguine culpam,
Interea geminos terrâ crudelis Iberâ
Fortuna abstulerat, permiscens tristia lætis,
Scipiadas, magnumque decus, magnumque dolorem.
SILIUS ITALICUS, l. 13, l. 382.

[6] Livy, l. 26, c. 18.

[7] Anxia turba, Patres, quasso, medicamina, mœsti
Imperio circumspectant, Divosque precantur.
Qui laceris ausit ductor succedere castris.
SILIUS, l. 15, l. 7.

then about four and twenty years of age[8], got up on a rising ground from whence he might be seen by all, and declared himself a candidate, with a soul elevated above the danger[9]."

The eyes of the whole assembly were instantly turned on him, and general acclamations of favour and applause testified hopes and expectations of prosperity and success to the commission. Then orders were given that the people should proceed to give their votes, and not only every century without exception[10], but every individual voted that Publius Scipio should have the command in Spain; the country, says Swift, in which the greatest of the Scipios began all his glories[1].—As soon as the business was over, and the vehemence and ardour of the people's

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[8] Publius Scipio quartum ac vigesimum annum agens, iturum se pollicitus est. Quæ quidem fiducia Pop. Romano salutis ac victoriæ spem dedit. Eâdemque in ipsâ Hispaniâ usus est.—VAL. MAX. l. 3, c. 7.

[9] Ardua rostra petit, nullo fera bella volente,
Et gravia ancipitis deposcit munera Martis.
SILIUS, l. 15, l. 131.

[10] A. V. C. 542.

[1] The letter of Swift, from which the above extract is taken, was written to the Duke of Argyll in 1711, whilst he commanded in Spain.

emotion had subsided, a sudden silence ensued, and all began to reflect on what they had done, wherein partial inclination prevailed over their more mature judgment. His youth gave them much uneasiness[2], which was not abated when they took into consideration the misfortunes of his house. His very name, it is said, caused serious apprehensions, as he was to set out from two families, who were in mourning; and was to proceed to a province, where he must carry on his military operations between the tombs of his father and uncle[3]. When Scipio perceived that the people were under serious apprehensions on his account, he summoned an assembly, in which he spoke on the subject of his age, on the command to which he was appointed, and the war that he was to carry on, with such a magnanimity and elevation of sentiment, as re-

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[2] Absterret juvenem, patrios patruique piare
Optantem manes, tristi conterrita luctû,
Et reputans annos, cognato sanguine turba:
Si gentem petat infaustam, inter busta suorum
Decertandum hosti, qui fregerit arma duorum,
Qui consulta ducum, ac flagret meliore Gradivo.
SILIUS, l. 15, l. 10.

[3] In ultionem patris ac patrui missus cum exercitu Scipio.—FLORUS.

kindled and renewed the ardour that was beginning to subside, and filled the minds of the people with greater confidence[4] of hope, than what usually arises from faith reposed in any profession, merely human; or from reason, forming its opinion by the most flattering state of affairs. To assist him in council, and moderate the vivacity of his genius and warlike disposition, Marcus Junius Silanus, a proprætor, now advanced in years, was named by the republic for his colleague. Scipio had not only a noble carriage in him, (I now use the language of the old life of Africanus by Sir Thomas North), being endued with so many singular virtues, but he was also a goodly gentleman, and very comely of person, and had besides a pleasant countenance; all which things together, are great means to win him the love and good will of every man. Moreover, even in his gestures and behaviour, there was a princely grace. Now the glory of martial discipline being joined unto those his rare gifts of mind and nature, it was to be doubted whether civil virtues made him more acceptable unto strangers, than wonderful for his skill in wars. Furthermore, he had filled the common people's hearts

[4] Quæ quidem fiducia, says Valerius Maximus, populo Romano salutis ac victoriæ spem dedit.

with a certain superstitious fear, because he did daily (after he had taken the man's gown) use to go up to the Capitol[5], and so into the church without any company, insomuch that all men began to think that he learned some secrets therein."—This latter custom, says Livy, which he observed through the whole course of his life, made several people give credit to a notion spread abroad at the time, that he was of divine extraction; which gave rise to the propagation of many miraculous stories that were never discouraged by him, but rather were, says the historian[6], artfully countenanced, he himself neither contradicting nor absolutely affirming any thing of the kind[7]. The story of his having been

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[5] In Capitolium intempestâ noctê cunti nunquam canes allatraverunt. Nec hic quidquam prius cæpit, quam in *Cellâ** Jovis diutissimè sedisset, quasi divinam mentem acciperet.

[6] Livy, l. 26, c. 19.

[7] Hanc de se opinionem tali ingenio nutrivit, ut de originê quidem suâ nihil spontè loqueretur; et cum interrogaretur, an vera essent quæ passim ferebantur, nec affirmaret, ne quam exinde maculam vanitatis incurreret, nec negaret, quod credi ab omnibus gaudebat: hæc taciturnitaté plus assecutus est, quàm si palàm jovis filium prædicasset.—PETRARCH.

* *Cella* was the interior and more sacred part of the Temple, where the image of the Deity was deposited.

begotten by a huge serpent[8], is mentioned by many of the ancient writers, and is particularly alluded to by Milton[9], who in his enumeration of the serpent kind that were fabled to have had commerce with mortal women, says,

> He with Olympias, this with her that bore
> Scipio, the heighth of Rome.

Scipio Nasica, in a speech in which he praises the Cornelian family, says, that Scipio Africanus so far exceeded the reputation of his father, as to create a belief that he was not born of the human race, but was of divine extraction[10]. Scipio was not displeased, says Bayle, that people should believe this story of his mother; and he is inclined to think that the intelligent Romans were not averse to the circulation of such an opinion. When we take into consideration the sad condition to which Hannibal reduced Rome, it was to be wished that popular errors

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[8] Jovis filius creditur, nam antequam conciperetur, serpens in lecto matris ejus apparuit, et ipsi parvulo draco circumfusus, nihil nocuit.—AUR. VICTOR.

[9] Milton, Paradise Lost, l. 9, l. 509.

[10] Cui viro divinum quiddam inesse existimabatur; adeo ut putaretur etiam cum numinibus habere sermonem.—EUTROPIUS.

might raise the people's expectations, and make Scipio be looked upon as a man designed by the gods for some great actions. It is evident from numberless passages in Livy, that at this period the Romans paid almost as much attention to the prodigies which were annually collected, and to the ways and means that were devised to avert their portentous consequences, as they did to the most important affairs of the republic. At times they seemed to impute their distresses more to the neglect of superstitious rites, than to the misconduct of their generals, or to the superiority of their enemies. Fabius, who by perseverance and steadiness had the merit of restoring their affairs, was no less celebrated for his diligence in averting the effect of these prodigies, than he was for the conduct and ability of a cautious and successful commander.

From what has been said, it may I think be fairly inferred, that Scipio was impressed with a sense of religious duties, and a belief that there was a superior power that superintended the affairs of this world[1]. For it appears from

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[1] Nemo vir magnus, says Cicero, sine aliquo afflatû divinô unquam fuit.—*De Natu Deorum.*

every account transmitted of him, that he never entered upon any important business, either of a public or a private[2] nature, without retiring to some place of worship, and imploring the assistance of the divinity to which it was consecrated. But notwithstanding this, it is at the same time to be acknowledged, that he seems to have mixed a certain degree of policy with his public acts of devotion; and to have, in imitation of Lycurgus[3], Numa, and Sertorius, endeavoured to raise an opinion that he received unusual communications of divine favour: for by cherishing an opinion in the multitude, that he was supported in all his undertakings by supernatural aid, he inspired those that were under his command with greater confidence, and made them more eager, even in the most perilous attempts. In the assault which was made on New Carthage in Spain, Scipio said that Neptune appeared to him by night, and

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[2] Scipio Africanus non ante ad negotia publica vel privata ibat, quam in Cellâ Jovis Capitolini moratus esset; et ideo Jove genitus credebatur.—VAL. MAXIMUS, l. 1, c. 2.

[3] Polybius is of opinion, that there is a great resemblance, both in character and conduct, between Scipio and Lycurgus, l. 10, ex. 2.

bid him go on and fear nothing; and it is added, that as soon as the city was taken, he publicly offered up his thanks to the gods for his success. All these circumstances concurred in procuring Scipio a degree of admiration which surpassed what was due to any human being, and laid the foundation of some of the causes that, at this time, induced the public to commit to him, at so premature an age, the important command in question[4]. As soon as his appointment had taken place, he set sail for Spain as proconsul, and in the space of four years, reduced the whole country under the dominion of the Romans[5]. In that short period he overcame four captains, routed and dispersed four well-appointed armies, and drove the Carthaginians out of both Spains, so that it may be said with truth, he did not leave a single enemy in the province which was committed to his care.

As Livy and Polybius have given a particular account of Scipio's military transactions in Spain, I think it unnecessary to repeat them here—they were great—they were brilliant, and successful; which latter circumstance is what,

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[4] A. V. C. 542.

[5] Lucius Florus, l. 2, c. 6.

in the opinion of the world, crowns and justifies all wars, however undertaken or carried on.

In consequence of his success[6], the senate gave judgment that it merited a splendid triumph; but as it was never known that any person had obtained such an honour, when not invested with a public office, Scipio resigned his suit like a man, who would not be the cause of establishing a new custom, or of violating one that was old. In refusing the suit of the conqueror, the senate maintained the cause of wisdom and discipline, and the people were taught to understand that their authority was subordinate to the laws. As the senate sat in the temple of Bellona without the city[7], Scipio briefly recited, as was customary on such occasions, the battles he had won, the towns he had taken, and the generals he had beaten: in doing which, he rather made trial how far he might hope for a triumph, than advanced his

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[6] Livy, l. 28, c. 38.

[7] On sait assez que le general victorieux à son retour à Rome, faisoit assembler le senat dans un templé hors de l'enceinte des murs, et qu'il lui exposoit ses pretensions au triomphe, en lui fournissant en même tems des memoires exacts de sa victoire, dont il etoit obligè de constater la verité par son serment solennel.—GIBBON.

suit with any probability of success, by reason of the existing law. As soon as the senate was dismissed, Scipio made his entrance into the city, and in the twenty-ninth year of his age[8], was elected consul with the universal consent and approbation of the whole Roman people. Livy says his election was attended by an immense concourse of persons, who flocked from all parts of the country, not only for the purpose of giving him their votes, but of obtaining a sight of the candidate. They ran in crowds to his house, and even to the Capitol, at the time when he was making a sacrifice of a hecatomb to Jupiter, for a vow he had made in Spain after the suppression of a mutiny. He exhibited also games, of which the expence was defrayed by a decree of the senate, out of the money that he had transmitted to the treasury.

Though I have declined entering into any particular detail of our hero's military transactions in Spain, from being very little versed in the science of war; yet I shall have peculiar pleasure in marking such features of his civil

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[8] It was required by law, that every candidate for the consulship should be forty-three years of age, called *legitimum tempus.*

behaviour in that country, as serve to display the gallantry and humanity that always actuated him, of which the most remarkable instance is what is well known to every reader. The story[9] is as follows: During the prosecution of the war in Spain[10], we are told that, after the capture of New Carthage, a multitude of prisoners of both sexes fell into the power of Scipio, amongst whom was a damsel of great beauty, who, where-ever she went, attracted the eyes of all:

——She wept, and blush'd,
And like the morn, was young and blooming.

Scipio was at that time of life in which the passions have the greatest influence—he was seven and twenty, his person graceful and noble—consequently his soldiers supposed that his heart could not be insensible to the charms of so lovely an object. He assured them they were not mistaken in their opinions; the treasure was of inestimable price, and if his thoughts were not entirely engaged by public business, he might probably indulge in such pleasures as were not

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[9] This story is told by Sir Richard Steele, in one of his Tatlers, with peculiar grace and elegance.

[10] Livy, l. 26, c. 50.

incompatible with his youth, or with that respect which he must ever pay to honour and virtue[1]. On making enquiries concerning the fair Spaniard's country and parents, he learnt that she was promised in marriage to a Spanish prince of the name of Allucius. Immediately he sent for him who was to be her husband, and he came, attended by her mother and nearest relations. The moment Scipio saw him, and perceived in his countenance expressions not only indicative of indignation but sorrow, he addressed him as follows: "I am sensible of the regard this young captive has for you, and am not ignorant of your passion for her. Know, Sir, that she has been perfectly safe with me, and I now restore her as deserving of your love, as she was before she came under my protection. This lady, I can assure you, is a gift worthy of me to bestow, and of you to receive. I am happy at having it in

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[1] Polybius tells us that Scipio was naturally of an amorous temperament—συνειδοντες, ΦΙΛΟΓΥΝΗΝ τον Πουπλιον, l. 10.

To which Valerius Maximus adds, that he was besides *et juvenis, et cœlebs et victor.*

Mais Scipion savoit également vaincre les ennemis des Romains, et ses propres passions.

my power to contribute to an union on which the happiness of two such persons depends;

" ——And in return,
" I ask but this, when you behold these eyes,
" These charms with transport, be a friend of Rome.

If what I now do, raises in your mind any favourable opinion of me, if you believe me to be a man of worth and virtue, such as these nations ever found my father and uncle, believe that Rome has many citizens who would act in the same manner under similar circumstances[2]."

Allucius, overcome at once with joy and modest diffidence, and taking his noble friend by the right hand, invoked all the gods to reward such exalted goodness; for no return he could make, was adequate either to gratify his own wishes, or repay his benefactor's generosity.

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[2] " I will not so dishonour the virtue of Scipio," says Lord Lyttelton in one of his Dialogues, " as to think he could feel any struggle with himself on that account. A woman engaged to another, engaged by affection as well as vows, let her have been ever so beautiful, could have raised in his heart no sentiments but compassion and friendship. To have violated her, would have been an act of brutality, which none but another Tarquin could have committed. To have detained her from her husband, would have been cruel."

Instantly an immense treasure was produced by the friends of the fair captive, and offered as her ransom, which Scipio at first refused to take; but as Allucius pressed the acceptance of it, he gave his assent, and ordered it all to be laid at his feet; when turning to the young prince, he said, "I beg leave to present the whole to her who is to be your wife, as a part of her marriage dowry. You know, Sir, it is all nothing, in comparison with what I have already given her." Allucius, after some opposition, acquiesced in Scipio's bounty, and went home to his own nation, accompanied by his young bride and her relations, who resounded the praises of their benefactor, and of the Roman people, through all the regions round about, declaring, that he who had come amongst them was a god, rather than a man, one who conquers more by his goodness and generosity, than by the power of his arms[3].

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[3] The above story is told by old Burton, in his Anatomy of Melancholy, in the following natural and homely language: "Scipio, a young man of twenty-three years of age, and the most beautiful of the Romans, equal in person to that Grecian Charinus, or Homer's Nereus, at the siege of a city of Spain, when as a noble and most fair young gentlewoman was brought unto him, and he had heard she was betrothed to a lord, rewarded her, and sent her back to her sweetheart."

Soon after Allucius joined his camp at the head of fourteen hundred men, and never forsook him during the further continuance of the war. Examples of military prowess can only be made the objects of imitation by a few; but such amiable displays of true generosity and courtesy as the foregoing relation presents, are fitted for the instruction and imitation of all. As a small testimony of the grateful sense Allucius entertained for such magnanimous treatment, it is said he presented his benefactor with a silver shield°, on which he himself is represented as receiving from the hands of the Roman general, the beautiful captive to whom he was betrothed[4].

Swift, in speaking of such men as made great figures in some particular action or circumstance of their lives, mentions our hero, when he dismissed a fair captive lady presented to him after a great victory, turning his head aside, to preserve his own virtue°.

Among the various prisoners that were pre-

° See Appendix, Nos. I. and II.

[4] History, says Dryden, is fruitful of designs, both for the painter and the tragic poet. Such is Scipio restoring the Spanish bride, whom he either loved, or may be supposed to love; by which he gained the hearts of a great nation to interest themselves for Rome against Carthage.

Fortior est qui se, quam qui fortissima, vincit, mœnia.

sented to Scipio after the taking of New Carthage[5], a woman far advanced in years, with something venerable in her appearance, the wife of Mandonius, the brother of Indibilis, king of the Ilergetes, came forward, and threw herself at his feet, beseeching him with tears, to give such orders concerning the females who were his captives, that they might be enabled to receive more consideration and attention than what they had experienced from the Carthaginians. As soon as Scipio heard this, he begged leave to assure her, that no necessary accommodation should be wanting to her. To this she replied, that such kind of attention was not that about which they were troubled; "for what accommodation (continued she) can be looked upon as not enough for persons in our helpless situation? Concern, Sir, of a very different nature rends my heart, when I reflect on the tender ages of these young females; for as to myself, I am now beyond the danger of those insults to which our sex is exposed." On each side of this venerable matron stood the daughters of Indibilis, in the bloom of youth and beauty, together with several other young ladies of equal distinction, by all of whom she was respected as a parent. "From the reve-

[5] Polybius, l. 10. exc. 2; Livy, l. 26, c. 49.

rence I owe myself, (returned Scipio), and from the respect which is ever due to Roman discipline, I will take care that no right, wherever deemed sacred, shall suffer violation among us. In the instance before me, the characters of women of such respectability as you are, who in the midst of misfortunes, are not forgetful of that delicacy which is the brightest ornament of the sex, demand from me peculiar attention." Then taking her by the hand, he bid her and all her female attendants be of good cheer, assuring her at the same time, that he would be no less attentive to the preservation of their characters, than if they were his sisters or daughters. He then committed them to the care of persons of approved honour and fidelity, who were to be answerable for their treatment of them. In fine, during all the time Scipio had the command in Spain, he conquered the country as much by his generous manner of treating the vanquished nations, by his restoring his prisoners without ransom to their relations, by liberality towards his enemies, by wisdom and discretion in punishing mutiny and desertion, as he did by his valour and arms[6].

[6] Quâ rê, (says Eutropius), omnes ferè Hispaniæ ad eum unô animô transierunt.

The impression which was made on the minds of the Spanish people by these multiplied instances of an enlarged and beneficent spirit, was of such a conciliating nature, that we learn from Polybius, he was saluted by the name of king. As soon as he discovered that it was the universal wish of the people to make him a king[7], he thought it a matter of most serious moment. In consequence of which, he called a meeting of the principal persons who wished to confer on him the title, in which he told them that he should always desire not only to be, but to be esteemed a man of a truly royal mind; at the same time assuring them he would neither be a king, nor would he receive the title from any one; and for the future requested, that they should address him by no other appellation than that of imperator, or general. The greatness of

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[7] Livy, l. 27, c. 19.

——Mens omnibus una,
Concordes regem appellant, regemque salutant.
Scilicet hunc summum nôrunt virtutis honorem.
Sed postquam miti rejecit munera vultu,
Ausonio non digna viro, patriosque vicissim
Edocuit ritus, et Romam nomina regum
Monstravit nescire pati, tum versus in unam, &c.
SILIUS, l. 16, 312.

soul, says Polybius[8], which was displayed on this occasion, may very justly be thought to deserve applause.

Though Scipio was at this time extremely young, and fortune had so favoured him in his career of glory, that a whole subject people made a voluntary offer to him of the royal title, yet he remained true and constant to his country, not suffering himself to be tempted by so flattering a display of honour and distinction. To refuse the title of king, when you have it in your power to possess it, is, says Seneca, what constitutes the essence of reigning[9]. But in the subsequent progress of his brilliant victories, after he had subdued Hannibal, and brought down the pride of the Carthaginians, and had besides conquered Asia and her kings, how many were the occasions that occurred, of his establishing himself in royalty in almost any part of the world he might have chosen? Such golden opportunities were presented, as might have inspired not only a human mind, says Polybius, but even a divinity itself, if the expression is allowable, with ambitious pride. But so ele-

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[8] L. 10, exc. 6.

[9] Hoc est regnare; nolle regnare, quum possis.

vated, so superior was the soul of Scipio to that of other men, that, though supreme power is regarded as the greatest blessing which the gods can bestow, and though it was thrown so often in his way by fortune, he rejected it with disdain, and preferred his duty, and the interests of his country, to all the dazzling splendour and fancied happiness of a throne. The barbarians themselves, says Livy, acknowledged the greatness of his mind, which could look down with contempt on a title as beneath him, which from the rest of mankind attracts admiration and wonder.

An incident occurred before Scipio returned to Rome, which should not be omitted, as it serves to give a further trait of our hero's character: Syphax was king of the Massæsylians, a people who possessed the half of Numidia, whose country lay opposite to New Carthage, where Scipio then had his head-quarters. This prince was the ally of the Carthaginians, but his fidelity, like that of other barbarians, was generally guided by fortune, and the prosperity of those with whom he was in alliance. In consequence of the unsuccessful state of Carthaginian affairs then in Spain and Italy[10], Scipio enter-

[10] Anno V. C. 543.

tained hopes that he might be able to engage him in his interest. Under this idea he dispatched his friend Lælius to sound the Numidian, at the same time sending with him such presents as he conceived might be acceptable to his majesty. Syphax, not at all displeased with the arrival of Lælius, nor with the gifts he brought along with him, and considering the prosperous condition of the Romans, consented to embrace their friendship, but refused to exchange the ratification of any treaty, save with the principal in person. When Lælius was going away, he desired him to tell his general, that if he came himself, he trusted he should have no cause to repent of the journey. The great importance of an alliance which promised to secure the interest of so powerful a king, overcame in Scipio's mind not only the imprudence, but the illegality of an action so hazardous both to himself and the republic; inasmuch as there was a positive law existing, which forbad, under penalty of death, a general's quitting his army by moving out of his province: the violation of this law, became a plentiful source of invective to Fabius and his abettors.

It is true, Scipio committed himself in an enemy's country, to the power of a barbarian

king, to a faith unknown, without any obligation, without hostage, upon the single security of his own magnanimity, of his good fortune, and the promise of his elevated hopes; so just is the observation of Livy, that the confidence we repose in another, often procures the return of the like confidence. Habita fides, ipsam plerumque fidem obligat.

Yet when we consider that the object of what Scipio did, sprung from the purest patriotic motives, and that the conquest of Africa followed, his gainsayers were put to shame, but not to silence. What I am going now to relate, is that which tends further to illustrate the character of Scipio. The two generals of the two greatest nations in the world accidentally met together at the court of the Numidian king: both were received by Syphax with great respect[1].

——Of the same repast,
Both gracefully partook, and both reclin'd
On the same couch; for personal distate
And hatred seldom burn between the brave[2].

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[1] Celsus mentê Syphax acciri in tecta benignè
Imperat, et tanto regni se tollit honore.
SILIUS, l. 16, l. 221.

[2] Sophonisba.—THOMSON.

The two generals sat on the same couch at table, a circumstance which they perceived, as Livy acquaints us, would be particularly pleasing to the king[3]. During this interview Scipio's address was so prepossessing, the versatility of his genius so rapid, and his conversation so charming, that he delighted not only Syphax, who was a stranger to Roman manners, but even Asdrubal, who was his enemy.

> Then the superior virtues of the Roman
> Gain'd all their hearts.

In the course of the conversation which the two generals had together, Asdrubal is reported to have thus addressed Scipio: "That he appeared to him more worthy of admiration by his agreeable conversation, than by his exploits in

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[3] Quia ita cordi erat regi.—Livy, l. 28, c. 18.

Silius Italicus, with the allowable license of a poet, says that Syphax had great pleasure in retracing in Scipio's face the likeness of his father, whom he remembered in Spain.

> Quàm te, Dardanida pulcherrime, mentê serenâ
> Accipio, intueorque libens! quàmque ora recordor
> Lætus Scipiadæ. Revocat tua forma parentem.
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> L. 16, l. 225.

war[4];—that he did not doubt but Syphax and his kingdom would soon be at the disposal of the Romans, so captivating were Scipio's manners in winning the hearts of men;—that the Carthaginians need not trouble themselves so much, by enquiring how Spain was lost, as how Africa might be preserved;—that Scipio's excursions by sea were not those of pleasure; that he would never have encountered the perils of such a voyage in two small ships, nor put himself in the power of a king, whose honour he had not tried, but with a prospect of subduing Africa;—that the latter was an object which Scipio had long revolved in his mind, having often publicly expressed his regret that he was not carrying on the war in Africa, as Hannibal was in Italy."

Before his departure, Scipio ratified a league with Syphax, who was so interested for his personal safety, that he detained Asdrubal till he heard he was landed at New Carthage.

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[4] ——Even Asdrubal himself,
With admiration struck and just despair,
Own'd him as dreadful at the social feast,
As in the battle.

Sophonisba—THOMSON.

Valerius Maximus, in noticing the foregoing incident, blames the temerity of Scipio, not only for the unguarded manner in which he visited Syphax, but for trusting his own safety, and that of his country, to the honour of a faithless Numidian, by which rash step, it became for a moment a matter of doubt whether he should be the captive or conqueror of the Massæsylian[5]. If we were to judge of the wisdom of Scipio's visit to Syphax by the event, the answer would be attended with little difficulty. But what was the observation of the wise Fabius on such occasions? It is comprised in a few words: Eventus stultorum magister est—Events only are the instructors of fools[6].

Scipio, previous to his leaving Spain, entered into a close alliance with Massinissa, a young Numidian prince[7], who was strongly prepossessed in favour of the connection, by the

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[5] Itaque exiguo momento maximæ rei casus fluctuavit, utrum captivus, an victor Scipio Syphacis fieret.—Val. Maximus, l. 9, c. 8.

[6] ——Errat
Quisquis ab eventù facta notanda putat.
Ovid.

[7] Livy, l. 28, c. 35.

amiable treatment shewn to his nephew Massiva, the particulars of which, as they lead more and more to the elucidation of our hero's character, I shall give from the best of Roman historians.

After the battle of Bœcula, when the quæstor was selling off some Africans that had been taken prisoners, he observed a youth of extraordinary beauty, and hearing that he was of royal blood, sent him to the commander-in-chief. When the youth appeared before Scipio, he asked him, "Who, and of what country he was, and why at such an early age he had been in the camp?"—The youth told him "he was a Numidian, and called by his countrymen Massiva;—that by the death of his father he was left an orphan, and had been educated in the family of his maternal grandfather, Gala, king of the Numidians;—that he had lately arrived in Spain with his uncle Massinissa, who had brought over a body of cavalry to the assistance of the Carthaginians;—that he had never before been in a battle, having been prohibited by Massinissa on account of his youth; but that on the day of the engagement with the Romans, he had privately taken a horse and arms, and without the knowledge of his uncle, had gone into the

field, where, by the falling of his horse, he was thrown to the ground, and made a prisoner by the Romans."

Scipio, after giving orders that the young Numidian should be taken care of, finished the business he was about at the tribunal; then retiring into his pavilion, called the youth, and asked him, whether he wished to return to Massinissa? To this the boy, bursting into tears, replied, that that was what above all things he desired. On hearing this, Scipio gave him a gold ring, a vest with a broad purple border, a Spanish cloak with a golden clasp, and a horse magnificently caparisoned; after which he ordered an escort of horse to attend him as far on his way home as he pleased[8].

Though the alliance which Massinissa entered into with Scipio, was founded ostensibly on gratitude for his kindness towards his nephew, yet there were other motives of a much stronger nature which led to its formation; motives arising from the consideration that Carthage was verg-

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[8] Eos igitur victoriæ maximos fructus rati Romani, Diis templorum ornamenta, regibus sanguinem Suum restituere.

V. Maximus, l. 5, c. 1.

ing towards its decline, and that Massinissa might add considerably to his power by the assistance of Rome. Whatever were the causes of the connection, the Numidian prince acted with great fidelity to the republic, as he had ever done to his benefactor, in whose house he passed most of his time[9], whenever he visited Rome; to which may be added, that the uniform kindness he experienced from Scipio, made such a deep impression on his heart, as was never forgotten by him during a long protracted life of near one hundred years.

On Scipio's return from Spain he was elected consul, as has been observed, without one dissenting voice, amidst the greatest concourse of people ever met together at Rome. In such an assembly of men, both Romans and strangers, various were the subjects of conversation, and various were their opinions; but there was one subject, which above all others, attracted their

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[9] The relation between the host and guest, was held by the ancients, both Romans and Greeks, in the number of the most sacred connections. It arose from the general custom of receiving strangers when upon their travels; a custom so universally established, that they were scarcely ever reduced to the necessity of taking up their lodgings at an inn.

attention, and on which all hearts beat in unison—the name of Scipio was in every mouth, and his glorious exploits the theme of every tongue—

——" All thanked the gods,
" That Rome had such a soldier;"

and were unanimous in declaring that he should be sent to Africa, that the war should be carried on in the enemy's country, and that there was no man so capable of terminating it with success as the conqueror of Spain. Scipio's wishes exactly corresponded with those of the people: he boldly accepted the choice made for him to the new province; and in the senate gave it as his decided opinion, that the carrying the war into Africa, was the only way by which it could be conducted with effect[10].

It was some time about this period, and previous to his entering on the African war, that he is supposed to have married Æmilia, the daughter of Paulus Æmilius, who fell so deeply lamented in the battle of Cannæ. He thought

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[10] Les citoyens de Rome attribuoient á la divination de Cornelius Scipion, cet empressement qu'il avoit eu d'aller porter la guerre en Afrique.—*Histoire de Caton, &c.*

it of high consequence to strengthen the interest of his own family by an alliance with that of the illustrious house of the Æmilii. Of Æmilia's character, who is little noticed in history, we can only judge by that of her daughter, the celebrated Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, who joined to maternal tenderness, the genius, the sentiments, and firmness of the greatest men. From the character of the daughter, some idea may be formed of the mother, who had the care and superintendance of her education[1].

To return to Scipio: Of those who opposed his wishes on the subject of the African war, Fabius Maximus was the man whose character had the greatest weight; "but he was a man," says Sir Walter Raleigh, "who seems to have

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[1] Valerius Maximus notices the character of Æmilia in the following anecdote, in his chapter *De Fidê Uxorum erga Maritos:* Tertia Æmilia, Africani pioris uxor, mater Corneliæ Gracchorum, tantæ fuit comitatis et patientiæ, ut cum sciret viro suo ancillulam ex suis gratam esse, dissimulaverit: ne domitorem orbis Africani fœmina impudicitiæ reum ageret. Tantumque à vindictâ mens ejus abfuit, ut post mortem Africani manumissam ancillam in matrimonium liberto suo daret.—V. Max. l. 6, c. 7.

been troubled with that disease, which too often causeth men renowned for long approved virtue, to look with an envious eye upon the actions of those who follow them in the same career of glory."

Fabius alledged many reasons against the war being carried into Africa; of which the principal were[2], "that the treasury was unable to sustain the expences of it; that it was extremely perilous to hazard an army where they could not be easily recalled for the defence of Rome, in case of any emergency." He particularly dwelt on the danger in which Italy should be placed, not only from Hannibal, but from Mago, who was at that moment cruising on the coast of Liguria, with an army ready to join that of his brother. He then declared, that the consul's character would acquire much greater glory by delivering Italy from the enemy, than it would from any injury that could be done them in Africa. Scipio's victories in Spain, he considered as of little moment, compared to those which were to be gained in Africa. In the allusion he made to Scipio's successes in Spain, he blamed him for suffering Asdrubal to pass

[2] Livy, l. 28, c. 40.

into Italy, from which it was greatly to be apprehended that like accidents might again occur. But the principal point he urged was, that Africa was not yet a province of the republic, and therefore that the people had no right to name a governor to it. In the course of his speech, he took great pains to guard against the idea of his being influenced by any emulation or jealousy of another's glory in opposing Scipio's wishes; "for can it be supposed, (exclaims he), that I can have any rivalship with one, who is not equal in age even to my son? I, who put a stop to the victorious career of Hannibal, that the young men who came after me, might be enabled to conquer him[3]; I, who have grown old in the accumulation of honours;—yes, surely, I may be allowed to say, that two dictatorships and four consulships, with all the glory I have acquired in peace and war, are enough to shelter me from the suspicion of such unworthy feelings."

Fabius concluded a long and able speech with saying, that in his judgment, Scipio was elected consul, not for himself, but for the common-

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[3] Vincere ego prohibui Hannibalem, ut a vobis, quorum vigent nunc vires, etiam vinci posset.—Livy.

wealth, and that troops were raised for the defence of Rome and Italy; and not that consuls, arrogating to themselves an authority like kings, should convey them to any part of the world they chose, and make them subservient to their own selfish and ambitious views. The reputation which Fabius had so well earned, and the high authority with which he gave his opinion, corroborated all he said; consequently it carried great weight with the elder part of the senate, and prevailed for some time against the enterprising spirit of the young consul.

The moment Scipio was sensible of the effect which Fabius's speech made on the house, he arose, and spoke to the following effect. He began by observing, that Fabius, at the very moment in which he was vindicating his character from all jealousy and envy, had not neglected extolling his own merits, nor depreciating those of a young man, with whom, he asserted, it was not in the nature of things that he should ever be his competitor in the race of glory. After dwelling on this topic for some time, he next proceeded to justify his design of carrying the war into Africa, and declared it would be better to make an offensive, than a defensive war, especially against a people who

had no natural strength, and who were under the necessity of depending on mercenaries, whose character was inconstancy itself. On the subject of Italy he entertained no fears, trusting that his colleague Publius Licinius would be as capable of taking care of it, as others had been in times of much greater danger. "It is true, that Fabius has magnified the dangers attending a campaign in Africa, just as if the Carthaginians were more formidable in one place than in another. But the time is now come for making Africa the theatre of the war, and for causing her to feel those calamities at her own door, which we have been experiencing for the last fourteen years:

"It is time the thunder of the battle be return'd
"Back on the Punic shores."

"Fabius, in the allusion he has made to his own advanced period of life, tells me, I am not so old as his son; just as if the laudable ambition of glory was limited to this mortal life, and did not carry its views to the latest posterity[4]. Magnanimous souls compare themselves not

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4 ——Sed famam extendere factis,
Hoc virtutis opus.

VIRGIL, l. 10, l. 468.

only with the illustrious heroes of the present time, but with those of the past."

Scipio then concluded a most eloquent harangue, in the following manner: "I confess, conscript fathers, I should be apprehensive of tiring out your patience with matter little connected with the present subject, if I was, in imitation of Fabius, who has considered of such little consequence what I did in Spain, to attempt to raise my reputation on the ruins of his. I shall not be guilty of any such thing: in moderation and forbearance of speech, if in nothing else, young as I am, I shall surpass this old general. Such has been the constant tenor of my life and actions, both in public and private, that I can hold my tongue on the present occasion, and remain satisfied with whatever opinion you may form of me."

This speech, notwithstanding what Silius Italicus says[5], was not listened to with all the deference that was due to the shining character of Scipio, because a report had gone abroad, that if he did not obtain the permission of the senate to carry the war into Africa, he would demand

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[5] Talibus accensi patres, fatoque vocante,
Consulis annuerunt dictis, faustumque precati
Ut foret Ausoniæ, tramittere bella dederunt.
SILIUS, l. 16—end.

it of the people. Quintus Fulvius, who had been four times consul, and also censor, called upon Scipio to declare in the presence of the senators, whether he would leave the distribution of the provinces to them, and acquiesce in their decree; or whether, in case he did not approve of it, he would appeal from the same to the people? To this Scipio answered, that he would act in whatever manner he should judge most advantageous to the republic. On hearing this, Fulvius observed, that all deliberation was useless, and therefore desired the tribunes of the people to interpose. The consul replied, that it was not fair in the tribunes to interrupt the senators in giving their votes. Then the tribunes said, that if the consul would leave the disposal of the provinces to the senate, they would support their decision, and suffer no appeal from it to the people; but if, on the other hand, he would not submit to the senate, they would support whoever should refuse to vote. The consul desired he might be permitted to have a conference with his colleague, which ended in his acquiescence in the judgment of the senate, who immediately proceeding to the distribution of the provinces, appointed him unanimously to the government of Sicily, with liberty to pass into Africa, if he judged it for the interest of the republic.

When this decree of the senate was made public, the minds of all people were elated with such sanguine expectations of glorious performances, that they already ranked Africa amongst their possessions, and considered the war at an end. But Fabius, though he was unable to prevent Scipio's carrying the war into Africa, used all means in his power to obstruct his military preparations, and prevailed on the senate to refuse the funds necessary for equipping his armament. He even tried, through his colleague Licinius, to traverse all his measures, and to dissuade the Roman youth from going out with him as volunteers. Yet, in spite of all the opposition that was given, Scipio obtained the senate's permission to receive whatever succours the allies were disposed to grant. In consequence of this mark of their approbation, orders were sent to Etruria, and to the other states in alliance with Rome, to prepare a fleet; and so zealous were all in his favour, that in the space of five and forty days it was put to sea, fully equipped by private contributions[6]. The whole

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[6] Secundo quoque Punico bello, Scipionis classes XL. die *à securi* navigavit. Tantum tempestivitas etiam in rapidâ celeritatê pollet.—PLIN. l. 16, c. 39.

undertaking seemed at first so rash and presumptuous, that the republic would not supply him either with troops or money; added to which, there was a public standing order, that no levies were to be made in Italy whilst Hannibal was in arms.

The moment the fleet was ready to sail, Scipio proceeded to Sicily, and landed at Syracuse. The entire march of Scipio's military career in this expedition, was attended with equally brilliant success as that which distinguished its progress in Spain; but as its object was more momentous, its issue proved more glorious. He conquered Hannibal, and subdued the Carthaginians; which few words comprise the highest eulogy that can be pronounced on a soldier.

Having declined all particular account of Scipio's military transactions in Spain, I shall observe a similar silence on the present occasion, and confine myself only to such prominent features of his character, as serve to keep up with undiminished interest, that place in our hearts which he acquired at the age of seventeen, and which abated not when the grave closed over him at Liternum. As soon as he landed at Syracuse, he learnt that a party of Roman soldiers had, in defiance of a decree of the senate, re-

fused to restore to the inhabitants some lands which had been taken from them by violence. The immediate restoration of this property was ordered, under penalty of the most exemplary punishment, and was complied with without a moment's delay. This example of summary justice gave him the hearts and hands of all the Sicilians, and secured him their zealous co-operation in the prosecution of his further designs. As long as Roman generals and governors of provinces adhered to this mode of conduct, the government from which their power emanated, was every where respected.

Whilst Scipio remained at Syracuse, he was greatly embarrassed by the violent proceedings of Quintus Pleminius, whom he had lately made governor of Locri. The circumstances attending this appointment, proved a source of some temporary gratification to his enemies, who in consequence of his gross misconduct[7], preferred an accusation against Scipio, as having not only overlooked, but connived at it. To strengthen

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[7] Pleminius is represented in the light of a man who had nothing of a Roman citizen—*præter habitum, vestitumque et sonum Latinæ linguæ.* He is called, *Pestis ac bellua immanis.*—Livy, 29, c. 17.

their charge, his enemies added, that the army he commanded was in a state of great insubordination, which they ascribed to an unbounded indulgence allowed both officers and men, whilst he himself was addicted to a life of effeminacy and pleasure.

This accusation was supported by a popular party at Rome, at the head of which, we are concerned to find the names of Fabius Maximus and Marcus Cato, whose jealousy was easily awakened at the important services Scipio had rendered his country, and which in their eyes had given him too great an ascendancy in the state. The proverbial caution of Fabius ever dreaded the impetuous ardor of youth; and it is not without reason supposed, that Scipio's uninterrupted career of good fortune gave him some secret uneasiness. He condemned Scipio for placing such a man as Pleminius in the government of Locri, and for not immediately attending to the complaints of the inhabitants against him: nay, his prejudice against him rose to such a heighth, that he called him a man born to be the corrupter of military discipline in the army. By such an unqualified strain of invective Fabius encouraged others to utter what their malice suggested, not only in opposition to

Scipio's own mild demeanour, but to the good discipline of his army, which, they affirmed, lay idle in Sicily, neither mindful of, nor fit for duty. The rigid austerity of Cato's life, and his severe simplicity of manners, were quite incompatible with the unbounded liberality of Scipio's public sentiments and magnificent style of living. "It is not at the head of armies (exclaimed Scipio, on an occasion of one of his Quæstor Cato's prudent remonstrances), it is not, I say, at the head of armies, that the economy you recommend is to be practised. It is of the exploits I shall perform, and not of the expences incurred by them, that I must give the Roman people an account."

Sir Walter Raleigh censures the vehemency of Cato's nature, for maligning the virtue of that noble Scipio the African[8], and some other worthy men, that were no less honest than himself, though far less rigid and more gallant in behaviour. The jealous malignity of Cato's nature was unworthy his high reputation, and his coalition with Fabius tended to give it greater effect: for they were both men constitutionally timid in their policy, and temporizing in action,

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[8] Livy's words are: "Scipionem a Catone *adlatrari* solitum esse.—In English, *to be barked at.*

and consequently jealous of a youth who was brave, daring and successful.

No man, says Bayle, was more proper than Cato to perform the functions of a censor, nor did any man ever acquit himself better of the duties of that office. He exerted all his severity, all the strength of his eloquence, and the whole weight of his regular life, to repress the luxury and the other vices of the Romans, for which reason it was said that he was no less useful to the Roman commonwealth by the war he waged against the depravation of manners, than Scipio by his victories over the enemy. The eulogium pronounced on him by the best of the Latin historians[9], is so beautiful in the original, that Bayle had not the courage to attempt a translation of it. That the jealousy of such men as Fabius and Cato, and some others, was wholly without foundation, cannot be reasonably supposed. The important services Scipio had rendered his country, in conjunction with those eminent virtues which he had on every occasion displayed, seem to have given him such a superiority in the state, as to have raised in these distinguished patriots a strong jealousy of his

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[9] Livy l. 39, c. 40.

credit and power. Hence originated a party, whose object was to mortify his ambition, and restrain his too extensive influence, and whose suspicious malice only ceased with their lives.

To the complaints of the Locrians, which had arisen from the outrageous behaviour of their Governor, Scipio made no reply. He left the vindication of his conduct to the Locrians themselves[10], who all with one accord acquitted him of the charge preferred against him, and declared that the severities they suffered under Pleminius, were, in their opinion, unknown to Scipio: adding, that they were convinced it was neither by his order, nor consent, that such enormous oppressions had been committed, and that, consequently, they were not to be charged to his account. The commissioners, who were sent by the senate to investigate the business, when once assured of his innocence, and of the unfounded malice of his enemies, were filled with great joy, inasmuch as it delivered them from the invidious office of commencing a prosecution against a man so much in favour with the Roman people. It must be allowed, that some share of the odium of Pleminius's bad con-

[10] Livy, l. 29, c. 21.

duct fell upon the consul, on account of his extreme lenity through the whole business; and for this his enemies in the senate never failed to inveigh against him, whenever they had the opportunity.

To the remaining charge, relative to the disorder and licentiousness of his army, as connected with his own effeminate life, his manner of treating it was the same, though it was one of a much more serious nature. He made no reply to the commissioners when they waited upon him, for he had prepared, not words, but facts, to answer their charges; but gave orders that they should have free access to all his stores, magazines, arsenals, &c. with full permission to examine his fleet, his seamen, and his army, and after that, to report the condition in which they found both him and them, to the senate. The commissioners, (who consisted of a prætor, ten senators, two tribunes, and one ædile), after taking the necessary time to make their enquiry, and form an opinion, departed from Sicily with the full assurance of the notorious falshood, and groundlessness of the accusation; and declared when they returned to Rome, that if Carthage was to be conquered, it was by him, whose innocence and correctness

of life they fully attested, and by that army which was represented to have been in a state of total insubordination. The very men who were appointed by the senate to investigate his conduct, and the state of his army, became his warmest advocates; and his enemies had the great mortification to learn, that superior lustre was cast on a character which they supposed would have been tarnished for ever.

The life of effeminacy[1] to which Scipio was said to have been addicted, was nothing more than the disposition which he shewed at Syracuse, to make himself acquainted with the learning of the Greeks, and to pass his time partly amongst his books, and partly in the public places of conversation and exercise. He was the first Roman statesman and warrior who manifested any great inclination to study the literature of Greece. It appears from Valerius Maximus, that there was nothing effeminate in his conduct whilst he remained in Sicily; for the exercises in which he indulged, were those of manly recreation[2], and such as were

[1] Livy, l. 29, c. 19.

[2] Non hac rê segniores Pœnicis exercitibus manus intulit: sed nescio, an ideo alacriores, quia vegeta et strenua ingenia, quo plus recessus sumunt, hoc vehementiores impetus edunt.—V. Maximus, l. 3, c. 6.

the fashion of the place, by which he expected to win the favour of all his young companions in arms[3]. The instances noticed of his licentious behaviour, are his laying aside the Roman habit, and wearing the Greek cloak, and embroidered sandals.

The delay which Scipio made in Sicily, is considered by Seneca[4], as an instance of that wisdom which always regulated his life, and raised him above the influence of the angry passions. And what was that conduct? (cries Seneca),—Did he not, (says he), forsaking Hannibal and the Carthaginian army, and all those with whom he had reason to be angry, remove the war into Africa in so dilatory a manner, that they who envied his virtue, accounted him an idle and dissolute man? To give full assurance of the confidence he placed in his army, he said to some friends who were standing with him[5], "Look at those three hundred men, and that tower near them: there is not a man of them, who would not, were I to give the word of com-

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[3] In these particulars, Germanicus, whose virtues would have done honour to the best days of Roman freedom, took for his model, whilst in Egypt, the conduct of Scipio in Sicily.—Tacitus An. l. 2, c. 59.

[4] Seneca de Ira.

[5] Valerius Maximus.

mand, go up to the top of it, and throw himself down headlong." Whilst Scipio's whole thoughts were fixed on Africa, deputies arrived from Syphax, to acquaint him that their master had entered into a new treaty with the Carthaginians[6], and was leagued in close friendship with Asdrubal, the son of Gisco, whose daughter, the celebrated Sophonisba, he had just married; at the same time they were desired to add, that it was besides their king's pleasure, that Scipio should not pass into Africa; for if he did, he must be under the necessity of opposing him, not only for the sake of his country, but his wife's sake, whose hatred to Rome was inextinguishable.

This change in Syphax's sentiments, Scipio, with great address, concealed from his army, lest it might cast a damp on the ardour of his men, whose minds were all intent on the approaching war. He dismissed the ambassadors before the object of their mission was made public, with a letter to their master, wherein he exhorted him, in the most pressing terms, "Not to violate the laws of hospitality by which they were joined; to remember the alliance he had

[6] Livy, l. 29, c. 23.

entered into with the Roman people; and above all things, not betray his faith, honour, and conscience; and lastly, he adjured him to respect and fear the gods, the witnesses and avengers of violated treaties[7]."

To obviate the danger arising from such intelligence transpiring, he framed an account directly the reverse, which he took care should be made public amongst his troops. When this was done, Scipio gave orders that every thing should be prepared, as there was no longer any time to lose, in consequence of Syphax having dispatched, as he pretended to give out, ambassadors for the sole purpose of discovering what motives could induce him to remain so long in Sicily. As soon as the fleet and army were ready for sea, and Scipio had received the orders of the senate for sailing, he commanded, when day appeared, an herald to proclaim silence; and after having sacrificed to Jupiter and Neptune, he is said to have addressed his army in the following prayer, from the deck of the Pretorian ship.

"Ye gods and goddesses, who inhabit the lands and the seas, I pray and beseech you to

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[7] Livy, l. 29, c. 24.

make whatever has been done, is doing, and shall be done hereafter, under my authority, turn out to the happiness of me, of the state, and people of Rome; of the allies, and of all those of the Latin name, who espouse my cause and follow my orders and auspices; and those of the Roman people by sea, by land, and the rivers. Favour all my undertakings, and further them with good increase. Grant us to return safe and without harm, after having conquered all our enemies, adorned with spoils, laden with booty, and honoured with a triumph. Give us the opportunity of taking vengeance on our foes, and grant, that whatever injury was intended to our state by the Carthaginians, we may be enabled to retaliate the same on their own[8]."

When this prayer was ended, Scipio threw into the sea, according to custom, the foaming entrails of a victim, and immmediately after, by a trumpet, gave the signal for sailing[9]. As

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[8] Livy, l. 29, c. 27.

[9] Ipse alacer Siculâ discedens Scipio terrâ
Abscondit latè propulsis puppibus æquor,
Cui numen pelagi placaverat hostia taurus,
Jactaque cæruleis innabant fluctibus exta.

SILIUS, l. 17, l. 48.

soon as his fleet was drawing nigh the coast of Africa, he prayed to the gods that the first sight of land might be propitious to him and his country: and when he was informed that the first land that appeared in view, was called the *Fair Promontory*[10], he hailed the omen, and exclaimed, "Let that be our place of landing."

The conquest of Spain, which would have been deemed sufficient in itself to have immortalized any name, was only considered by Scipio as a preliminary step to that by which he was to climb to a much more glorious enterprise, the conquest of Carthage. The news of his landing flew like lightning through the country[1], and caused such confusion in the Capitol, that the alarm was sounded, and the gates and walls were manned as if the enemy was at hand. In a short time after his landing, Massinissa joined the Roman standard, a man who was burning with desire to make war against Syphax, by whom he had been deprived of all his hereditary possessions, and what particularly embittered his feelings, robbed of his betrothed wife.

This junction of Massinissa with Scipio, in-

[10] Pulchri Promontorium, Livy, l. 29, c. 27.

[1] Livy, l. 29, c. 28.

spired the Romans with new confidence, and gave them an assurance that their general had not deceived them, when he spoke of the friends and allies they were to meet with in Africa. In this expedition, Scipio's usual success attended him[2], for history tells us, that within the space of three years, he destroyed two armies, took and burnt two camps, made Syphax prisoner, recalled Hannibal from Italy, whom he conquered at Zama, and dictated to Carthage the conditions of peace. But there are some interesting features in the melancholy detail of battles and slaughter, that merit particular attention, of which the story of Sophonisba appears the most conspicuous. This celebrated woman was the daughter of Asdrubal, the son of Gisco, and is represented by every historian, as possessing extraordinary beauty, great talents, captivating manners, and a courage above her sex. When Sophonisba was very young, Asdrubal betrothed her to Massinissa, in order that he might bind him the more securely to the interest of Carthage; but the moment that that gallant prince was dispossessed of his kingdom, her father broke his promise, and gave her to Syphax, who, unmindful of all former engage-

[2] Florus, l. 2, c. 6.

ments with Scipio, entered into a new alliance with the Carthaginians[3]: of this the Roman general received intelligence previous to his sailing from Sicily.

In the further prosecution of the war which was carried on by the Romans in Africa, Massinissa succeeded in vanquishing all his enemies. In a last decisive action, he overcame Asdrubal and Syphax, of whom the latter being made prisoner, was sent afterwards in chains to Rome[4]. The young Numidian, elated with his success, as well as with the approbation of his general, for his gallant conduct, asked permission to advance with the cavalry, and Syphax in custody, to

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[3] Virgo erat eximiâ speciê, claroque parentê,
Asdrubalis proles, thalamis quam cæpit ut altis,
Ceu facê succensus primâ, tædâque jugali
Vertit opes gener ad Pœnos, Latiæque soluto
Fœdere amicitiæ, dotalia transtulit arma.

SILIUS, l. 17, l. 71.

[4] The capture of Syphax when fallen from his horse, is thus mentioned by Silius Italicus, in his 17th Book,

Invadunt, vanumque fugæ, atque adtollere fessos
Adnitentem artus, revocato a vulnere telo,
Corripiunt: tum vincla viro, manicæque, pudendum!
Addita, et *exemplum non unquam fidere lætis,*
Sceptriferas artâ palmas vinxêre catenâ.

Cirtha[5], the capital of the kingdom. On his arrival, he ordered the principal inhabitants to be invited to a conference. As they were ignorant of their king's misfortune, neither Massinissa's relation of what had passed, nor his threats nor persuasions produced any effect, until their king was shewn them in chains. The sight of Syphax in a condition of such fallen grandeur excited a general consternation; some in terror deserted the walls, others ran to conciliate the favour of the conqueror, and all seemed inclined to give him a civil reception.

Massinissa, as soon as he had placed proper guards around the town, and taken care that none should make their escape, advanced with all speed to take possession of the palace, in the vestibule of which appeared in all her beauty the wife of Syphax. The instant the queen discovered in the midst of a body of armed men[6], a person distinguished by the splendour of his armour, the richness of his dress, and a certain air of superior dignity, and judging rightly this must be Massinissa, she immediately fell down at his feet, and thus addressed him: "The gods, your valour, and fortune, have

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[5] Cirtha caput regni Syphacis erat.—Livy.

[6] Livy, l. 30, c. 12.

made you arbiter of our fate. But if a captive woman may be permitted to use the language of a supplicant, before him who has the disposal of her life and death; if it may be allowed her to touch his knees and victorious right hand; I beseech you, by the majesty of a king, with which we were so lately invested, by the name of Numidian, which we bear in common with Syphax, and by the guardian deities of this palace (O that they may receive you under happier auspices, than they have sent Syphax from it!), by all the aforesaid ties, I implore you to grant me this one favour—that you will yourself dispose of me according to your pleasure, and not suffer me to fall into the power of any proud or cruel Roman. Were I but the wife of Syphax, I had rather trust to the honour of a Numidian, to one warmed by the same sun with myself, than to any alien born in a strange country. You are ignorant of what a Carthaginian and a daughter of Asdrubal, has to dread from a Roman—I,"

> " Who in my veins from Asdrubal deriv'd,
> " Hold Carthaginian enmity to Rome."

" If you can by no other means than by death, secure me from the power of the Romans, I ask this as the last and greatest favour you can bestow."

Whilst she was imploring for mercy, her entreaties were more like the blandishments of love than the supplications of pity; and as such, failed not to make a deep impression on Massinissa's heart. He looked tenderly on Sophonisba, and as his heart was of the most tender mould, he held out to her his right hand, as an assured pledge of the performance of what she asked, without once taking into consideration the difficulties attending its execution[7]. But when he began to reflect by what means he was to accomplish his engagement, and being incapable of devising any that were practicable, he had recourse to one that was both imprudent and desperate, inasmuch as it was suggested by the most violent of all passions, that of love. He resolved on immediately marrying her, supposing that no Roman could think of treating the wife of Massinissa as a prisoner of war. Sophonisba herself was of opinion, that by acceding to the wishes of Massinissa, she should be protected from Roman malice; nay, she flattered herself with the hopes of raising up to Rome a dangerous enemy out of a faithful friend.

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[7] Massinissa, who was but a subaltern in the Roman army, had no right to make such a promise.—*Universal History.*

Soon after the marriage was concluded, Lælius arrived, and so far was he from giving his approbation to what had passed, that he was almost resolved to drag her from the nuptial bed, and send her with Syphax, and the other prisoners to Scipio; but at length he suffered himself to be persuaded by Massinissa, who besought him to refer the whole business to the judgment of the commander-in-chief.

Then Lælius sent Syphax to the Roman camp, and proceeded to the subjugation of the remaining part of Numidia, which, with the assistance of Massinissa, he soon reduced to the dominion of Rome. As soon as Syphax's arrival was annoncced in the Roman camp, it ministered to every one abundant matter of discourse: the mighty armies he had lately brought into the field, and his princely entertainment of Scipio and Asdrubal, when Rome and Carthage courted his friendship, added to other considerations of past and future fortune, all tended to excite various sensations, not only of joy, but sorrow[8]. Even Scipio himself was deeply affected,

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[8] Ducitur ex alto dejectus culmine regni,
Qui modo sub pedibus terras, et sceptra, patensque
Litora ad Oceani sub nutû viderat æquor.
SILIUS, l. 17, l. 143.

when he compared the former situation of Syphax with what it was at present; and when he called to his remembrance the sacred rites of hospitality, the private amity, and public alliance they had contracted together. He asked Syphax what induced him, not only to forsake the friendship of the Romans, but to make war upon them without any provocation?

Syphax scrupled not to declare, "that he had greatly erred, and acted under an impulse of insanity; but not at the time when he took up arms against the Romans; for that act was the consequence of his madness, not its commencement." He said, his entire conduct was to be ascribed to the counsels and intrigues of Sophonisba, whose irresistible charms had deprived him of his reason, and made him prefer Carthage to Rome: adding, that the principal source of his misfortune flowed from having received a Carthaginian wife into his house—

——"Yes, she, the fury: she
Who put the nuptial torch into my hand,
That set my throne, my palace, and my kingdom,
All in a blaze."

Then, to awaken suspicion and distrust in Scipio's mind, Syphax concluded with saying, "That in the midst of all his calamities, he had

the consolation of seeing the same fury, the cause of his own ruin, transplanted into the house of his most deadly foe."—On hearing this, Scipio was greatly troubled in his mind, and perplexed at the idea of this perilous woman robbing him of Massinissa, as she had done of Syphax. Fears were naturally entertained, that the dominion she had gained over the mind of Massinissa, would soon enable this artful woman to draw him into all her views and ambitious schemes. In this doubtful state of Scipio's mind, Massinissa and Lælius arrived; and both were courteously received by their commander-in-chief, and commended in public for their great services in the late expedition. After shewing the Numidian this public mark of his attention, Scipio gave him a private audience[9], in which he most candidly remonstrated with him on the subject of Sophonisba, and told him that her life was now in the absolute power of the Romans, and that her enmity to Rome was not to be extinguished. In consideration of which, he implored him to moderate his affection, and not tarnish the memory of his meritorious services, (for which he should be amply

[9] Livy, l. 30, c. 14.

rewarded), by a fault, too great to be extenuated even by what had given rise to it[10].

Massinissa blushed and wept; and after a severe struggle between affection and ambition, was at length forced to sacrifice the former to the views of aggrandisement, and the prosperity of his kingdom. In compliance, however, with a promise exacted from him by this extraordinary and high-minded woman, rather to suffer her to die, than fall into the hands of the Romans, he retired in great sorrow and confusion from Scipio's tent to his own;

For grief finds charms in solitude itself.

After spending some time in sighs and groans, which, says Livy, were distinctly heard by those who stood on the outside of the tent, he called to him a trusty slave, who had the charge of his poison, (which princes used to have in readiness for all such vicissitudes of fortune as rendered existence intolerable), and tempering a

[10] Appian says, that Scipio at first only desired Massinissa to deliver up Syphax's wife; that the prince refusing to comply, the general sharply forbad him to think of keeping by force, what of right belonged to the Roman people; and having commanded him to give up the prey, added, that then, if he pleased, he might petition for it.

potion of it for Sophonisba, sent it to her, with the following impressive admonition: that (since his actions were now no longer in his own power) she should, as a Carthaginian, as the daughter of Asdrubal, as the wife of two kings, to whom she had been married, consult her own safety in the way most becoming her high character.

When the magnanimous Sophonisba heard this, she said, "I accept with gratitude this pleasing, though fatal nuptial present[1], since it is all that Massinissa has to offer his queen. Tell him I should have died with more honour, had I not married on the very brink of the grave." When she uttered these words, she shewed the

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[1] Quel present nuptial d'un epoux à son femme;
Qu'au jour d'un hymenée il lui marque de flame;
Reportez, Mazetulle, à vostre illustre roy
Un secours dont luy-mesme a plus besoin que moi,
Il ne manquera pas d'en faire un digne usage
Dès qu'il aura des yeux à voir son esclavage.
Mais quant à Sophonisbe, il m'est permis de dire
Qu'elle est Carthaginoise, et cet mot doit suffire.
Elle meurt à mes yeux, mais elle meurt sans trouble,
Et soutient en mourant la pompe d'un couroux
Que semble moins mourir, que triomphe de nous.

CORNEILLE—*Sophonisbe.*

cup to her nurse, and entreating her not to lament her death, boldly drank off the poison, without changing colour or expressing a single complaint[2]. Few deaths have been so truly heroic as Sophonisba's, without complaint, reproach, or regret. We should despise Massinissa, could we suppose, that a curule chair, a purple robe, or a chain of gold, were capable of giving him the least consolation. Yet the ambitious may imagine that he found some alleviation to his sorrows in the name of king, and in the hopes of being soon requited for such services with the sovereignty of all Numidia.

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[2] Illa manû pateramque tenens, et lumina cœlo
Attollens, sol alme, inquit, superique valete:
Massinissa vale, nostri memor: inde malignum
Ceu sitiens haurit non motâ frontê venenum,
Tartareasque petit violentus spiritus rembras.

PETRARCH—*Africæ.*

These lines, which close the life of the magnanimous Sophonisba, are taken from the long neglected poem, entitled *Africa*, written by Petrarch, and are peculiarly striking. There are many other passages in the same poem conceived with great force and fire, and expressed with equal elegance of language; among which, Hayley, in his hostorical notes, notices the lines which describe the anguish of the young Numidian prince when he is constrained to leave his bride, and those which announce Sophonisba's first appearance in the regions of the dead.

When Scipio was made acquainted with the tragical catastrophe, he sent for Massinissa, and afforded him all the comfort in his power, from an apprehension lest his melancholy might lead him to some desperate act. But in time the caresses of Scipio, and the solid benefits conferred upon him by the Romans, served to efface all remembrance of the daughter of Asdrubal, and of his early attachment.

Appian says, that Massinissa, after exposing to the Romans Sophonisba's dead body, gave it a funeral worthy of a queen. It has been asked, was there no other way by which Massinissa could have delivered his bride from Roman severity? Might he not by a separation, and a promise never to see her more, have secured her liberty and life? As Massinissa, without a moment's hesitation, preferred the most violent means, it is probable he was well acquainted with the unalterable firmness of Scipio, in the resolution he had adopted[3]. The late defection

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[3] "Massinissa knew, (says Lord Lyttelton, in one of his Dialogues), that Sophonisba's ruling passion was ambition, not love. He could not rationally esteem her, when she quitted Syphax, whom she had ruined, who had lost his crown and his liberty in the cause of her country, and for her sake, to give her person to him, the capital foe of that unfortunate husband. He must, in spite of

of Syphax was a powerful instance of the baneful ascendancy of Sophonisba's charms; and as Scipio was acquainted not only with this predominant influence of the queen, but with her eternal enmity to the Roman people, he consequently dreaded a like effect on the mind of Massinissa. These considerations, added to a Roman's love of his country[4], which was a passion too strong to be restrained within the more confined limits of common morality, hardened his heart, and rendered him not only unfeeling, but inflexible on the occasion.

Another feature in this war, is one to which Polybius particularly alludes, and as it serves to exalt Scipio's character as a soldier, I shall briefly notice it. He attacked by night, and burnt the two camps of Asdrubal and Syphax, and destroyed in a few hours an army consisting of forty thousand men, with a loss too inconsi-

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his passion, (concludes his Lordship), have thought her a perfidious, a detestable woman."—Hence, perhaps, Massinissa's easy compliance with the wishes of Scipio.

[4] The false notions, says Melmoth, which the Romans had embraced concerning the glory of their country, taught them to subdue every affection of humanity, and extinguish every dictate of justice which opposed that destructive principle.

derable to be noticed in history. The assault of the Romans was so sudden, that Syphax fled naked out of his bed, and with great difficulty made his escape from the flames[5]. The information on which Scipio planned and executed this exploit, was not exactly procured in the most honourable manner, for it was obtained by a stratagem almost amounting to a breach of faith; but which was considered as allowable by the laws of war, and of a war carried on against the people of Africa. Alas, poor Africa! from that time until the present, thy sons have been exposed to the insolence, and insults, and cruel traffic of a world always boasting of its superior civilization.

Though Scipio, says Polybius, was distin-

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[5] Sentitur plerisque prius quam cernitur, ignis
Excitis somno, multorumque ora vocantûm
Auxilium invadunt flammæ. Fluit undique victor
Mulciber, et rapidis complexibus arma virosque
Corripit: exundat Pestis, semustaque castra
Albenti volitant per nubila summa favillâ.
Ipsius ingenti regis* tentoria saltu,
Lugubre increpitans, latè circumvolat ardor:
Haussissitque virum, trepidus ni clade satelles
E somno ac stratis rapuisset multa precantem.

* Syphax.

guished by a series of brilliant actions, there was none, in his judgment, among all he performed, so glorious and adventurous as the atchievement just noticed. Before he undertook it, says Appian, he sacrificed to Courage and Fear, that none of his men might be struck with a panic by night, but, on the contrary, that all might do their duty without any interruption. It is mentioned, that of the spoils taken from the enemy, he made an offering of them, out of gratitude, to the God of Fire. It is a most lamentable reflection, to think with what indifference great victories are perused; when, if men were but to consider the sorrow attending every individual that falls in battle, their hearts, hardened as they generally are by bad education, would be softened. Were the very conquerors themselves to have beheld the horrid scene[6] that must have presented itself to their eyes on the following morning, is there one of them would not have

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[6] Livy describes it: Multos in ipsis cubilibus semisomnos hausit flamma, multi in præcipitî fugâ, ruentes super alios alii; in angustiis portarum obtriti sunt. Ambusti homines, jumentaque fædâ primum fugâ, dein stragé, obruerant itinera portarum. Quos non oppresserat ignis, ferro absumpti: binaque castra cladê unâ deleta.—Livy, l. 30, c. 5-6.

been shocked at the sight? Though the lives of human creatures are a consideration as light as air, in the scale of restless and insatiable ambition, yet their preservation is the dearest and most sacred of all objects to the heart of religion and humanity.

Sir Walter Raleigh, in speaking of war, says, that there is no profession more unprosperous than that of military men and great captains, being no kings; for besides the envy and jealousies of men, the spoils, rapes, famine, and slaughter of the innocent[8], vastation and burning, with a world of miseries laid on the labouring man, all so hateful to God, as with good reason did make Monluc, the marshal of France, confess, "That were not the mercies of God infinite, and without restriction, it were in vain for those of his profession to hope for a portion of them; seeing the cruelties by them permitted and committed, were also infinite[9]. And how, (continues the same writer), have the greatest

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[8] Cicero describes some of the horrors of war: Vastantur agri, diripiuntur villæ, matres-familias, virgines, pueri ingenui abripiuntur, militibusque traduntur.

[9] Tous les vices réunis de tous les ages, et de tous les lieux n'egaleront jamais les maux, que produit une seule campagne.—VOLTAIRE.

warriors, even those whose virtues have raised them above the level of their inferiors, been rewarded?—with disgrace, with banishment, and death."

But to return to the African war, of which one of its most important features was the revocation of Hannibal from Italy. When the Carthaginian heard the words of the ambassadors who were sent to recall him, it is said he gnashed his teeth, and groaned, and was scarcely able to refrain from tears[10]. Hannibal's departure this year from Italy, proved some consolation to Rome for the recent death of Fabius, a man who, by his victorious delays, baffled all the schemes of the Carthaginians, and who, by the character he displayed as a soldier, deservedly merited the appellation of *Maximus*.

> And thou, great hero, greatest of thy name[1],
> Ordain'd in war to save the sinking state,
> And by delays, to put a stop to fate.

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[10] Ductor defixos Italâ tellurê tenebat
Intentus vultus, manantesque ora rigabant
Per tacitum lachrymæ, et suspiria crebra ciebat.
SILIUS, l. 17, 213.
Livy, l. 30, c. 20.

[1] Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem.
VIRGIL.

——par ingenium castrisque, togæque.
SILIUS.

After the ambassadors had delivered their message, Hannibal said, "It is now I am *indeed* recalled, and *that* not ambiguously, but explicitly. My enemies, it is true, have been for some time past dragging me home, by withholding the necessary supplies of men and money. But remember, it is not the Roman people, whom I have so often beaten, that have subdued Hannibal; it is the base Senate of my own country, moved by the paltry motives of envy and jealousy. Scipio is not the man who will have so much reason to triumph in my recall as Hanno, who has at last succeeded in burying our family under the ruins of Carthage; and that, because he had no other way of accomplishing their ruin."

Hannibal had long foreseen what his ungrateful country now effected, and had ships always in readiness for his departure. Never did an exile[2] feel more regret in leaving his native land, than he did in quitting Italy. Often did he cast his eyes on her retiring shores, and often, says Livy, did he call down curses on his head, for not marching to Rome after his victory at

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[2] Haud secus ac patriam pulsus dulcesque penates
Linqueret, et tristes exsul traheretur in oras.
SILIUS, l. 17, 216.

Cannæ[3]. Melancholy was his voyage from Italy to Africa, and sorrowful were his reflections, as often as he thought of the last sixteen years of his life.

As soon as he came within sight of land[4], he asked one of the sailors to tell him what part of the coast they were coming to. The sailor said, they were making to a place where he discovered the ruins of an old sepulchre. Hannibal startled at the sound, bade the pilot pass on as fast as he could. Soon after the whole army landed at Leptis, a place of little consequence, situate between Susa and Adrumetum. After refreshing his troops, he advanced to Adrumetum, and then proceeded to Zama, a town of Numidia Propria, within five days' journey of Carthage. From this place he dispatched spies[5], to learn, if possible, the situation and strength of the Roman force[6]. These spies were soon

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[3] Quid: tunc sat compos qui non ardentia tela
A Cannis in templa tuli Tarpeia? Jovemque
Detraxi solio? Sparsissem incendia montes
Per septem bello vacuos, gentique superbæ
Iliacum exitium, et proavorum fata dedissem.
SILIUS, l. 17, 225.

[4] Livy, l. 30, c. 25.

[5] Livy, l. 30, c. 29.

[6] Valerius Maximus, l. 3, c. 7.

apprehended, and though it is customary in all nations to put them to instant death, Scipio issued orders for conducting them through the camp and army, and then dismissed them[7], with full permission to report all they had seen to their general. By such confidence of mind, he dampt the courage of the enemy, before he vanquished their arms. Hannibal was greatly affected by the magnanimity which Scipio displayed on this occasion; just as, it is said, he had been before, by an answer which the Roman general made to some persons who were calling down vengeance on the heads of the Carthaginians for the violation of a treaty. "The crime of which the Carthaginians have been guilty, in despising the most sacred, and respected rights, is not enough to justify me in following their example." Such instances of magnanimous feeling, induced Hannibal to offer proposals of peace, (to which the Roman general assented), and to propose an interview for taking the same into consideration. This meeting took place in an open plain, which lay extended between the two armies, called Nadagara.

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[7] Prandium dari jubet exploratoribus, dimittique, ut renunciaret Hannibali, quæ apud Romanos vidissent.—EUTROPIUS.

——Before the battle join'd,
The world's two captains, (for besides them, none
Merits the name in equal competition)
Met to have conference, where, for a space
They stood astonish'd at each other's presence[8].

The Roman was in the prime of life, and possessed all the advantages which characterize manly beauty. He was tall and graceful in his person, of a benign countenance, and engaging aspect. The Carthaginian was almost the very reverse: his countenance bore the deep impressions of many a hard-fought field: and this, added to the loss of an eye, gave a peculiar sternness to his whole appearance.

Hannibal is thus reported to have addressed the Roman[9]: "As the fates have decreed that I, who first made war on the Roman people, should be the first to sue for peace, I am glad it is to you, Scipio, I am come to solicit it. I am glad it is to the son of that man I am come, over whose father I was formerly victorious. He was the first Roman general with whom I fought; and it is to his son I am now come un-

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[8] Scipio and Hannibal, an historical tragedy, by Thomas Nabbes, 1637.

[9] Livy, l. 30, c. 30.

armed, to ask for peace. It will not, I think, be considered as the least glorious event in your illustrious life, that Hannibal, to whom the gods granted victory over so many Roman captains, has laid the palm of victory at your feet; and that you should be the man to put an end to a war, which is more memorable by your defeats, than by ours. Such an incident as this is well entitled to a place amongst the singular sports of fortune. O that the gods had given our ancestors that moderation, which I hope inspires us both this day;—that pacific spirit I mean, which would have made you content with the dominion of Italy, and ourselves with that of Africa. What an effusion of blood might not then have been spared, for which no trophies of victory, no rewards of valour, can make now any compensation? For my part, I have received so much instruction from age, coming home an old man to my country, which I left when a boy; and so much also from both adversity and prosperity, that I feel well inclined to follow reason, rather than fortune. You are a young man, and not yet tutored in the school of adversity, and will probably pay little attention to my suggestions: nay, I fear your youth, in consequence of uninterrupted success, will

prompt you to reject all offers of peace. The man whom fortune has never forsaken, seldom reflects on her inconstancy. You are now, Scipio, what I was at Thrasymene, and Cannæ, when I was considering with myself in what manner I should dispose both of you and your country. Behold now the change:—behold Hannibal in Africa, who, after encamping within five miles of Rome, is come to treat with a Roman, not only for his own safety, but for that of his country.

"It may be asked here, is fortune to be trusted because she smiles? A secure peace is ever to be preferred to the hope of victory. The first is in your own power, the latter in that of the gods. Peace is the end of all victory, and that is what my country now sends me to offer. Leave not to the chance of an hour, that honourable fame, which an age of victories has given you. One hour may strip you of all your glory. If you conquer, little will be the addition made to your glory: if you are conquered, all your glory will perish.

"I know it is the privilege of him who grants peace, not of him who asks it, to prescribe its conditions. I allow there is reason for your distrusting the faith of the Carthaginians, be-

cause they violated the late treaty; but it should be recollected, that the observance of treaties, and the preservation of peace, greatly depends on the honour of him who sues for it. A want of character in our ambassadors is said to have been a principal reason for the rejecting our late petition in favour of peace. But it is Hannibal who now sues for peace, and who would not sue for it, if he did not think it expedient, and who, for that reason, independent of all others, will faithfully maintain it; and in the consideration of having conducted the late war, to which I was so accessary, in such a prosperous way, as to give no man reason to complain, till the gods themselves grew jealous of my glory, so I shall now exert all my endeavours, that no man may have cause to complain of the peace obtained by me."

To this Scipio is said to have made the following reply[10]: "Notwithstanding the Carthaginians have violated their solemn plighted faith, and the laws of nations, with respect to ambassadors, yet I shall not treat them in a way unbecoming the honour of the Roman people, nor the principles of moderation which

[10] Livy, l. 30, c. 31.

have always been the rule of my own conduct. The treaty of peace, Hannibal, to which you have alluded, was violated by your countrymen, in consequence of the hopes which were held out of your return. Even during the continuance of that treaty, some gross outrages were committed, that still call aloud for redress, and which, if fully and fairly atoned for, might probably lead to a new treaty. No man is more sensible of the inconstancy of fortune than I am, nor more aware of the thousand casualties to which every military exploit is particularly liable.

" In the wars you have noticed, Hannibal, the Carthaginians were always the aggressors; and of all people, they should be the last to complain of their consequences. The Carthaginians, I repeat it, were always the first to commence hostilities; and the gods, by giving victory to those who were unjustly attacked, shewed that they directed the issue of them according to right and equity. For my part, I can never condemn myself for engaging in a defensive war, founded on justice and necessity, which alone can legitimate war, and make it virtue. In fine, if in addition to the terms on which peace was intended first to have been made, (and with them you are already ac-

quainted), a full compensation be given for the seizing of our ships, and stores, during the existence of the truce; and for the insult offered to our ambassadors, I shall then have matter to lay before my council. But if all this seem too severe, prepare for war, since you could not endure peace."

The sentiments expressed by Scipio, in justification of war, are congenial with those which always actuated the Emperor Antoninus Pius[1], who never engaged in any hostile contest but upon absolute necessity, and in actual self-defence. This illustrious man loved peace, and was desirous of maintaining it. By this humanity of disposition, he was not only beloved by his subjects, who considered him more in the light of a father and protector, than a master, but by all foreign princes and nations, who admired his goodness and equity. His power and virtue filled them with profound respect for

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[1] This excellent emperor held the sound opinion of Caius Pontius, the general of the Samnites, on the subject of war: "Justum est Bellum, Samnites, quibus *necessarium*, et *pia arma*, quibus nulla nisi in armis relinquitur spes."—Liv. l. 9, c. 1.

This was the opinion of the late Mr. Fox, a man of the most enlightened understanding that ever lived.

his character; and as he never made war from motives of ambition upon people who continued in peace, so other nations were neither able nor willing to interrupt this tranquillity, which was more glorious to him than the most splendid triumphs in war. During his entire reign, he persevered in the design of maintaining the dignity of the empire, without attempting to enlarge its limits. By every honourable expedient he invited the friendship of foreign nations, and endeavoured to convince mankind that the Roman power, raised above the temptation of conquest, was actuated only by the love of order and justice. Whilst he lived, the Roman name was revered among the most remote nations of the earth. If the sentiments that influenced and guided the conduct of this truly virtuous emperor, were imprinted on the minds of every sovereign in Europe, the title of *most christian* might be applied not in mockery, but in reality, to each of them.

Peace, says Silius Italicus[2], is one of the

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[2] ——Pax optima rerum,
Quos homini novisse datum est, pax una triumphis
Innumeris melior, pax custodire salutem,
Et cives æquare potens.
SILIUS.

greatest blessings known to mortals: peace brings along with it more honours than myriads of triumphs: peace is that which can alone maintain public safety and equality amongst men.

Homer introduces Jupiter, expressing his displeasure against the god of war, in the following words:

> Of all the gods that in Olympus dwell,
> Thou art to me most hateful; for in strife,
> In war, and battles, ever is thy joy.

In another passage, the same divine author introduces Nestor, the wisest of his heroes, expressing his displeasure against the man who takes pleasure in war:

> Curs'd is the man, and void of law and right,
> Unworthy property, unworthy light;
> Unfit for public rule, or private care,
> That wretch, that monster, who delights in war;
> Whose lust is murder, and whose horrid joy,
> To tear his country, and his kind destroy.

Of the same sentiments is Euripides, who expresses himself in the following lines on the same subject:

> Parent of wealth, celestial Peace,
> Thou fairest of the heavenly train, O why,

Why this delay? Wilt thou again
These longing eyes ne'er visit? How I fear
That age, insensible and cold,
My trembling limbs will seize, e'er I shall hail
The moment of thy blest return
With the crown'd banquet, and the choral song.

But to return to our conference, from which I fear I have digressed too much: it ended without any accommodation, and the two generals retired each to his camp. Preparations were now made by both, for determining the mighty contest by the last, and worst of all appeals, the sword: the Carthaginians were to contend not only for their own safety and security, but for that of all Africa; and the Romans for the empire of the whole world. Never was there a more momentous contest[3], whether we consider the characters and abilities of the two illustrious generals, the high military prowess of the two armies, the magnitude of both states, or the consequence that was to follow. Scipio, as he was marching to battle, told his men, "that the

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3 ——Non alio graviores tempore vidit,
Aut populos tellus, aut, qui patria arma moverent,
Majores certare duces. Discriminis alta
In medio merces, quidquid tegit undique cœlum.
SILIUS, l. 17, l. 387.

gods[4] had shewn them the same prodigies, under the auspices of which their fathers had fought and conquered at the islands Ægates. The end of the war, and of all their toils, (he added), was now at hand; the plunder of Carthage within their grasp, and a speedy return to their homes, their country, their parents, their children, their wives, and household gods." These words he uttered in an erect attitude[5], and with a countenance so animated with joy, that he seemed as if he had already obtained the victory.

Though I have declined entering into a particular detail of any part of Scipio's military conduct, from a conviction of not being able to throw any new light on it, yet the battle of Zama holds such a conspicuous place in the history of the world, as makes an account of it necessary, which I shall take the liberty of transcribing from the History of the Progress and Termination of the Roman Republic, a work which constitutes a valuable addition to the lite-

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[4] Le merveilleux de cette enterprise infernale, (says Voltaire), c'est, que chaque chef des Meurtriers fait benir ses drapeaux; et invoque Dieu solemnement avant d'aller exterminer son prochain.

[5] Celsus hæc corpore vultûque ita læto, ut vicisse jam crederes, dicebat.—Livy, l. 30, c. 32.

rature of the country, and gives its author a most respectable rank among our greatest historians.

" Hannibal formed his army in three lines, with his elephants in front[6]. Scipio arranged his men in their usual divisions[7], but somewhat differently disposed. Hannibal had above eighty elephants, with which he proposed to begin the

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[6] Neither Polybius nor Livy mention the number of troops Hannibal and Scipio had at Zama.

[7] Ces deux ordres de bataille, (observes Folard), sont uniques et fort singuliers. Celui de Scipion est tres remarquable et digne de l'admiration des sçavans dans la tactique et dans l'etude de l'infanterie. Si l'on veut bien faire attention à cette disposition du general Romain, on conviendra qu'il ne s'est rien pratiqué dans l'antiquité de plus merveilleux et de plus parfait dans la disposition de l'infanterie dans de la faire combattre et de se ranger. Ce n'est pas la ruse et la valeur des troupes que decident d'une action si fameuse, c'est l'intelligence, c'est l'habilité du general qui connoit parfaitement la force de l'infanterie et la methode de la faire combattre. Annibal, á qui cette maniere de combattre, et de se ranger etoit auparavant inconnue, pouvoit dire comme Lysandre, qu'il avoit été vaincu non faute de courage, mais d'art. L'on peut dire que cette journée est celle de toute l'antiquité, oú il se soit passé des choses plus extraordinaires; autant dans ce que regarde l'obstination des combattans, que dans l'art et la conduite des generaux.

action. Behind these, he drew up the mercenary troops, composed of Gauls, Ligurians, and Spaniards. In a second line he placed the Africans, and natives of Carthage, with a legion of Macedonians; and in a third line, about two hundred yards behind the first, he placed the veterans, who had shared with himself in all the dangers and honours of the Italian war. He placed his cavalry in the wings, opposite to those of the enemy.

"Scipio posted Lælius, with the Roman cavalry, on the left; and Massinissa, with the Numidian horse, on the right. He placed the companies or divisions of the legions, not as usual, mutually covering their intervals, but covering each other from front to rear. His object in this disposition, was to leave continued avenues or lines, through which the elephants might pass, without disordering the columns. At the head of each line he placed the velites, or irregular infantry, with orders to gall the elephants, and endeavour to force them back upon their own lines; or, if this could not be effected, to fly before them into the intervals of the heavy-armed foot, and by the ways which were left open between the companies, to conduct them into the rear.

"As soon as the cavalry began to skirmish on the wings, Hannibal gave the signal for the elephants to charge, but such a terrible shout was raised by the Romans, that they were thrown into great disorder. Besides, they were received by such a shower of missile weapons from their light infantry, that, as usual, they carried their riders in different directions. Some broke into their own line with considerable confusion; others fled between the armies, and escaped by the flanks; and many, incited with rage, as Scipio had foreseen, pursued the enemy that had galled them, through the intervals of the Roman divisions, quite out of the action; and in a little time the front of the two armies was cleared of these animals, and of all the irregulars who had skirmished between them in the beginning of the battle. In the mean time, the first and second line of Hannibal's foot had advanced, to profit by the impression which the elephants were supposed likely to make. The third line still remained on its ground, and seemed to stand aloof from the action. In this posture, the first line of the Carthaginian army, composed of Gauls and Ligurians, engaged with the Roman legions, and after a short resistance, were forced back on the second line, who having orders not

to receive them, nor allow them to pass, presented their arms. The fugitives were accordingly massacred on both sides, and fell by the swords of their own party, or by those of the enemy. The second line, consisting of the African and native troops of Carthage, had a similar fate: they perished by the hands of the Romans, or by those of their own reserve, who had orders to receive them on their swords, and turn them back, if possible, against the enemy.

"Scipio, after so much blood had been shed, finding his men out of breath, and spent with hard labour, embarrassed with heaps of the slain, scarcely able to keep their footing on ground, become slippery with mud and gore, and in these circumstances, likely to be instantly attacked by a fresh enemy, who had yet borne no part in the contest, he endeavoured without loss of time, to put himself in a situation to renew the engagement. His cavalry, by good fortune, were victorious on both wings, and were gone in pursuit of the enemy. He ordered the ground to be cleared; and his columns, in the original form of the action, having been somewhat displaced, he ordered those of the first line to close to the centre, those of the second and third to divide, and gaining the flanks, to

form in a continued line with the front. In this manner, while the ground was clearing of the dead, probably by the velites, or irregular troops, he with the least possible loss of time, and without any interval of confusion, completed his line to receive the enemy.

"An action ensued, which being to decide the event of this memorable war, was probably to remain some time in suspense; when the cavalry[8] of the Roman army, returning from the pursuit of the horse they had routed, fell on the flank of the Carthaginian infantry, and obliged them to give way. Hannibal had rested his hopes of victory on the disorder that might arise from the attack of his elephants, and if this should fail, on the steady valour of the veterans, whom he reserved for the last effort to be made, when he supposed that the Romans, already exhausted in their conflict with the two several lines whom he sacrificed to their ardour in the

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[8] Massinissa and Lælius commanded the Roman cavalry, whose arrival was so seasonable, that it was ascribed to the favour of Heaven.—POLYBIUS.

The return of Massinissa and Lælius from the pursuit of the enemy's horse, is said to have been *most happy*, and in a *needful time*.—SIR W. RALEIGH.

The arrival of the Prussians, was no less seasonable to the Duke of Wellington, at the battle of Waterloo.

beginning of the battle, might be unable to contend with the third, yet fresh for action, and inured to victory. He was disappointed in the effect of his elephants, by the precaution which Scipio had taken in opening his intervals, and in forming continued lanes for their passage from front to rear; and of the effect of his reserve, by the return of the enemy's horse while the action was yet undecided. Having taken no measures to secure a retreat, nor to save any part of his army, he obstinately fought every minute of the day to the last, and when he could delay the victory of the enemy no longer, he quitted the field with a small party of horse, of whom many, overwhelmed with hunger and fatigue, having fallen by the way, he arrived with a few, in the course of two days and two nights, at Hadrumetum."

Hannibal, says Montesquieu, was conquered in a battle in which fortune seemed to delight in confounding his ability, his experience, and good sense. A peace followed, which closed the wounds of the second Punic war, in the seventeenth year from its commencement, and of the city 551[9]. The Carthaginian displayed the abili-

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[9] Finem accepit secundum Punicum bellum, post annum septimum decimum, quam cæperat.—EUTROPIUS.

ties of a consummate soldier; and if he was conquered, says Polybius, he may well be pardoned[10]; for fortune sometimes counteracts the designs of valiant men, and sometimes, in conformity to the proverb,

A brave man, by a braver is subdued[1].

And this is all must be allowed to have happened on the present occasion. The singular skill that Hannibal shewed in this his last fight, is highly commended by Polybius, and was acknowledged, as Livy reports, by Scipio himself. But the enemies, adds Sir Walter Raleigh, were too strong for him in horse, and being enjoined, as he was by the state of Carthage, to take battle with such disadvantage, he could work no marvels.

Hannibal retreated, as has been observed, to Hadrumetum after the battle, from whence he

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[10] Le jour qu'elle fut donnée, Annibal se surpassa lui-même, soit á prendre ses avantages, soit á disposer son armée, soit á donner les ordres dans le combat: mais enfin le genie de Rome l'emporta sur celui de Carthage, et la defaite des Carthaginois laissa pour jamais l'empire aux Romains.—St. Evremond.

[1] Εσθλος εων, αλλα κρειττονος αντετυχεν.

was soon recalled to Carthage, where he had not been for the space of six and thirty years. When he appeared in the Senate, he allowed he was vanquished, and declared there was no other way of avoiding ruin than by making peace, the hard conditions of which, we know, were dictated by Scipio, and submitted to by the Carthaginians; which made Montesquieu say, that they received the conditions of peace, not from an enemy, but from a sovereign.

The ambition of Scipio might have disposed him to press his victory to the utmost, in order that he might carry, instead of a treaty, the spoils of Carthage to adorn his triumph at Rome. But the eager impatience with which the consuls of the present and past year endeavoured to snatch out of his hands the glory of terminating the war, may, with other reasons of higher consideration, have induced him to receive the submission of the vanquished upon the first terms that appeared sufficiently honourable, and adequate to the object of the commission with which he was entrusted. Whenever an allusion was made to this circumstance, Scipio used to say, that Claudius, by his eagerness to supplant him in the command, had saved the republic of Carthage. But it

seldom happens that men act from any single motive, and Scipio may naturally be supposed to have had other and nobler ends in view, than the paltry jealousy arising from a successor; as it is now admitted upon good authority, that he spared the rival of his country for the purpose of maintaining an emulation of national courage and national virtue. This better motive was ascribed to him by Cato, his former quæstor, in a speech which he made in the senate before he died, one who was never known to flatter him, or any other man.

On the conclusion of the peace, four thousand captives obtained their liberty, five hundred gallies were delivered up, and burnt, and the first payment of the stipulated sum demanded. Whilst this last article was under consideration, some members of the Carthaginian senate were observed to weep: on seeing this, Hannibal smiled, and being questioned for offering such an insult to the public distress, he made this answer: "That a smile of scorn for those who felt not the loss of their country, until it affected their own interest, was the strongest expression of sorrow for Carthage."

As the presence of Scipio was now no longer necessary in Africa, he made preparations for his departure; but previous to its taking place,

he gave Massinissa entire posession of all Numidia, in which grant were included, not only the dominions of his old rival Syphax, but those of several other petty princes; all which acts of kindness were confirmed and ratified by a decree of the Roman senate.

When Scipio's arrival was known in Italy[2], the joy became universal, from the Alps to the extremity of Calabria. As he proceeded to Rome, the people flocked from all parts of the country to enjoy the satisfaction of seeing their deliverer, to whose superior valour and good fortune they thought themselves indebted for their present repose and tranquillity. The soldiers who attended him on the road, showed him to the husbandmen in their fields; mothers pointed him out to their sons, and natives to foreigners, when he entered Rome[3].

The dumb men throng'd to see him, and the blind
To hear him speak: the very nobles bended
As to Jove's statue, and the commons made
A show'r and thunder with their caps, and shouts:
I never saw the like[4].

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[2] Livy, l. 30, c. 45.

[3] Illum omnis tectis agrisque effusa Juventus,
Turbaque miratur matrum et prospectat euntem;
Attonitis inhians animis.
VIRGIL, l. 7.

[4] Shakespear.

The joy of the capital was in proportion to their superior knowledge of his merits and services. The senate and people were equally unanimous in voting him a triumph, which was the most magnificent ever had been exhibited in Rome. He was honoured by the sirname of Africanus[5]; but whether that proud distinction proceeded from the affections of the military, or the attachment of the people, is left undecided by Livy. He was the first Roman general who was distinguished by the appellation of the nation which he had conquered[6]; a practice which succeeding times rendered too common in Rome, and which only served, says Livy, as a precedent with men, who possessed neither the merit, nor could arrogate to themselves the virtue of Scipio; but it gratified their vanity to multiply the names of their images, and to

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[5] Scipio Romam rediit, et ingentî gloriâ triumphavit, atque *Africanus* ex eo appellari cæptus est.—EUTROPIUS, l. 3, c 23.

[6] Devictæ referens *primus* cognomina terræ.

SILIUS, l. 17.

Et de tout ce qu'il fit pour l'empire Romain,
Il n'en eut que la gloire, et le nom d'Africain.

CORNEILLE.

add new splendour to the titles of their families.

Whether Syphax was led in triumph through the city, is doubtful: if he was, it is to be regretted that the generous soul of Scipio did not oppose the observance of so barbarous a custom[7]; a custom which added insult to the calamities of princes, even though they had conducted themselves conformably to the rules of fair and honourable war. Can any thing be said in defence of a custom, which treats our fellow-men with contempt, insults them in their distress, and makes their misery a public spectacle of joy? But when added to all this, the like affront was offered to crowned heads, and the gallant conduct of great captains, who, before the battle, held equal rank with their conquerors; this, I say, was a degree of inhumanity, highly unworthy of a people eminent for their valour and wisdom, an unwarrantable forgetfulness of the instability of fortune, and an unpardonable insolence and arrogance, to which no parallel can be found in the practice of the most barbarous nations they conquered.

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[7] See a letter of Melmoth, on the subject of Roman Triumphs.

I do not know, says Rollin, how Rome could justify acts of inhumanity, so contrary to that goodness and clemency, upon which she prided herself on all other occasions. No plea then can be urged in support of such an inhuman practice, except the bad one, which Horace has comprised in two lines, to flatter the pride and vanity of his countrymen:

> Res gerere et *captos ostendere civibus hostes*,
> Attingit solium Jovis, et celestia tentat.

According to the account of Appian, Syphax was not exhibited in the triumph, for being unable to endure the taunts of an unfeeling rabble, he died by abstinence. The death of Syphax, says Livy, caused some diminution in the splendour of the triumph, but none in the glory of the general who triumphed. His death took place a short time previous to his exhibition, and made some noise, from being followed by a public funeral.

In opposition to both testimonies, Polybius writes, that the king of the Massæsylians was led a captive in the procession[8], and died some

[8] Ante Syphax feretro residens, captiva premebat
Lumina, et auratæ servabant colla catenæ.
SILIUS, l. 17.

time after in prison. But it was not the person of the unfortunate Syphax, supposing he made one in the procession, nor any other circumstance of that nature, which added so much to its real glory, as did the heartfelt feelings that arose in the minds of the Roman people, on the conclusion of a war which liberated Italy from the yoke of a formidable foe, and afforded them the prospect of domestic peace, which they almost despaired of seeing in their time. This was the cheering sentiment that made them look with such transport on the author of so happy a change, and filled them with a joy which they were scarcely able to moderate. When the glories of his triumph ended, a succession of games and spectacles followed, that lasted for several days; the expences attending which, were defrayed by Scipio, with his accustomed generosity. In process of time he was advanced to all the dignities of the republic, which he discharged with the purest honour. In five hundred and fifty-three, the second year after the battle of Cannæ, the senate and people appointed him censor, on the very first vacancy in the office. This magistracy was the most respectable in Rome, and was conferred only on such perons, as were become, if the expression

is admissible, the first citizens in the republic, in consideration of their talents and meritorious services. Besides, the honour of being descended from a Censorian family, was reckoned the brightest gem in the scutcheon of Roman nobility. The people were delighted to see him as much distinguished by the first rank in the republic, as he ever was by his superior virtues. The high opinion entertained by the nation of his military character, was surpassed by the disinterested manner in which, as a citizen, and as a magistrate, he discharged all such civil employments as were committed to his care.

The next office he filled, was that of prince of the senate, and this was always bestowed by the censors, on the citizen the most eminent for his honours and services. This appointment took place in the year of the city 557, and two years afterwards he was elected consul a second time. Whilst in this latter office, he effected one particular reform, which proved to him ever after, a source of great uneasiness, in consequence of its being made the ground of a popular resentment that was never forgotten, or forgiven. Individuals, if insulted and injured, forget and forgive;—aggregate bodies, never. In the celebration of the great anniversary festi-

vals at Rome, no local distinction had ever been made between the senators and people; all sat indiscriminately on the same benches. This custom, as being contrary to decorum and good order, Scipio altered, and gave to the senators, seats separate from those of the people. This reform[9] was considered by the latter, as a daring violation of the apparent equality existing between the two orders, and was resented by them in the way most suitable to their usual turbulence and impatience. However, Scipio's authority and character were held in such high estimation, that the alteration passed, in spite of all the popular clamour raised against it. Of this measure, Scipio, it is said, repented before he died, dreading a too great ascendancy of the aristocracy in a republic, wherein an equality among the several orders of the citizens, constituted the fundamental principle of the government. Besides, he had fears lest the pride of the Patricians should give them such a superiority over the people, as might at a future day, cause one of their body to arise with ambition

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[9] A reform, says Polydore Virgil, quod et vulgi animum avertit, et favorem Scipionis magnopere quassavit.

and character enough[10] to attempt a change in the constitution of the state, and destroy it by the usurpation of absolute power.

In the year of Rome 558, commissioners were sent by the senate to Carthage, to discover, if possible, the designs of the Carthaginians, and to learn whether any correspondence existed between them and Antiochus; at the same time they were desired to demand that Hannibal, who was supposed to be the principal agent in conducting it, should be given up to them. This proposition, so little to the honour of the republic, had been settled in a private conference with some of the chief senators of Carthage; but the moment Scipio became acquainted with its object, he reprobated it in the following language[1]: "Is it becoming the dignity of the

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[10] Cesar maitre et souverain de Rome vérifie dans la suite la justesse de ses conjectures.—SERAN DE LATOUR.

[1] Livy, l. 33, c. 47.

Scipio resisted like a gallant gentleman all the violence of his country, in its persecution of the great man he had conquered at Zama, and assigns his reason, "quia parum ex populi Romani dignitate esse ducebat, subscribere odiis accusationibusque Hannibalis, et factionibus Karthaginiensium inserere publicam auctoritatem, nec satis habere bello vicisse Hannibalem, nisi velut accusa-

Roman people to countenance the cabals and factions of Carthage, and to support them with the authority of the republic? Is it decent for Roman ambassadors to appear in the vile character of the accusers of Hannibal? We have conquered him in the field, our victory was honourable: every thing beyond that is unjust."

Hannibal was soon apprised of the designs of his enemies, both at Rome and Carthage, and saw immediately that he had no resource but in flight: therefore, without making any delay, he repaired to Antiochus King of Syria, whom he found in actual state of military preparation. As soon as intelligence reached Rome, that Hannibal had gone to the court of Antiochus, ambassadors were at once despatched there, to denounce him as their enemy, and to warn his Syrian Majesty against listening to any insinuations that might have come from him, to the prejudice of the interest and honour of the republic.

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tores calumniam in eum Jurarent, ac nomen deferrent." Herein Scipio reprobates the interference of the Roman state, which would have brought it into the situation of a common prosecutor in a court of justice.

Livy affirms from the history of one Claudius, then in his possession, that Scipio was among the ambassadors, and then tells us the illustrious conversation, which was supposed to have passed at an interview in Ephesus[2], between him and Hannibal. Scipio, according to the historian, asked the latter, whom he thought the greatest general ever lived? the Carthaginian replied, Alexander the Great. And whom the second? Pyrrhus; and whom, continues the Roman, do you consider the third? myself certainly. Yourself, returned Scipio, and what would you have said, had you conquered me? Then, replied Hannibal, I should have ranked myself not only before Alexander, and Pyrrhus, but all other generals, that ever existed. This

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[2] Whilst Hannibal was at Ephesus, we are told that, at the request of some friends, he attended the lectures of a renowned philosopher of the name of Phormio. The lecturer fully apprised of the great character that was present, harangued for a considerable time on the duties of a general, and the whole military art. When he had finished his discourse, the company seemed highly delighted: on which, one of them asked Hannibal what he thought of their lecturer? The Carthaginian very frankly answered, that he had seen many a silly old fellow in his life, but such an old blockhead, he had never seen before.—CICERO DE ORATORE, l. 2, c. 18.

conference has been made by Lucian, the subject of one of his very entertaining dialogues. This compliment was so ingeniously applied, that it distinguished Scipio from all other great captains, not only as being their superior, but as being above all comparison, which, at the same time that it flattered the polite Roman, paid the highest compliment to his own abilities. Livy admits the compliment, but ascribes it to Punic artifice; a comment so illiberal on the part of the Roman historian, proves how much he wrote under the influence of prejudice, and partiality.

In consequence of the civilities that passed between Hannibal and the Roman commissioners at this interview, the former sunk considerably in the estimation of the great King. Appian[3], in noticing this conference, says, that Hannibal asked Scipio, to partake with him in the rights of hospitality, with which, Scipio would most cheerfully have complied, had he not been apprehensive of incurring the displeasure of his friends at Rome: the situation of the Carthaginian at this time, in the court of Antiochus, being what made all intercourse on the

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[3] Appian de Bello Syriaco.

part of the Roman, a matter of peculiar delicacy. This was the way, continues Appian, in which these great captains, by a generosity worthy of themselves, measured their enmities only by the wars in which they were engaged.

About this time it was thought that Scipio felt a desire to leave Rome, in consequence of the ingratitude of his countrymen, which was beginning to shew itself in a way peculiarly wounding to his feelings. His mortification first arose, from having his recommendation in favour of Scipio Nasica, and Caius Lælius rejected; and in the second place, from having the very honor he solicited for his cousin and friend, conferred on a man, who had neither talents nor services to favour his suit. Surely it might have been supposed, says a modern historian, that the greatest man in the republic, might have had a majority of suffrages in favour of any candidate he espoused; and yet, strange as it may appear, he was disappointed. Scipio's glory, it is true, was the greater, but it was on that account exposed to greater envy. By his long residence in Rome, the people became familiarized to his sight; and by seeing him every day, their admiration sunk into indifference; so true is the old saying, that too much familiarity

is oftentimes productive of not only neglect, but contempt.

We now come to the year of the city 561, when Lucius Cornelius Scipio, the brother of Publius[4], and Caius Lælius, his intimate friend, were appointed consuls, a year in which the war broke out between the Romans and Antiochus, surnamed the Great. The two consuls[5] were connected with Africanus, both by blood and friendship, which are ties the most powerful in the intercourse of life. Each had his heart fixed upon Asia, and this circumstance gave rise to a debate in the senate, on the distribution of the Provinces. The fathers were divided in their opinions, but the majority were more disposed to favour the pretensions of Lælius, whose reputation was better known than his rival, and yet his colleague was not destitute of military merit: his services under his brother in Spain[6], among which was numbered, his

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[4] Creatus igitur consul Lucius Scipio: cique datur legatus frater Africanus, ut intelligeret Antiochus, non majorem fiduciam se in Annibale victo, quam Romanos in victore Scipione habere.—JUSTIN. l. 31, c. 7.

[5] Cicero, Philippic 11th.—VAL. MAXIMUS, l. 5, c. 5.

[6] In Hispania egregias res egit Scipio, et per se, et per fratrem suum Lucium Scipionem.—EUTROPIUS.

taking the town of Oringis, having given him character as a soldier. Africanus, anticipating what the determination of the senate might be, and what would be the mortification of his brother, if disappointed, put an end to the debate with the following few words: "Conscript Fathers, if you will confer the province of Asia on my brother, I will serve under him in quality of lieutenant." This humble declaration was heard with such perfect approbation, that the controversy was instantly at an end, and the appointment made out agreeably to his wish. Italy was assigned to Lælius, and Asia to his more favoured colleague.

The splendour of Africanus's military talents, should not diminish our respect for his domestic virtues, for though he had commanded the armies of the republic, during the greater part of his life, he now condescended to accept the subordinate rank of lieutenant under his brother; a situation in which he manifested as much satisfaction, as if the entire command had been conferred on himself.

In the space of two years Lucius Scipio, aided by the counsels of his brother, obtained a complete victory over Antiochus at Magnesia, which was followed by a peace, whose conditions were

dictated by the conquerors. The senate and people were so well satisfied with Lucius's conduct, that when he returned to Rome, he was saluted with the sirname of *Asiaticus*[7], in the midst of the triumph which was then decreed him. Africanus was greatly pleased with the honours that were bestowed on his brother, and never lost any opportunity of ascribing to him, the entire merit and success of the campaign[8].

The victory gained by Lucius Scipio, says Sir Walter Raleigh, merited the title of Asiaticus, though the virtue requisite to the purchase thereof, was in no way correspondent. The modesty and humility of Africanus's whole demeanour, during the time of his brother's triumph, gained him more genuine applause, than what could have been derived from the most brilliant success; and the senate and people

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[7] Lucius Scipio Romam rediit, ingenti gloriâ triumphavit, nomen et ipse ad imitationem fratris, Asiatici accepit, quia Asiam vicerat, sicuti frater ipsius propter Africam domitam Africanus appellatur.—EUTROPIUS, l. 4, c. 4.

[8] Some writers suppose, that Scipio affected indisposition, and remained at a distance from the camp, in order that his brother might have the sole merit of the victory.

were so sensible of the manner in which he conducted himself on the occasion, that they with one voice, hailed him a second time prince of the senate.

As in the preceding notice of Africanus's military life, attention was principally paid to the interesting circumstances attached to it, so in the following view of the war with Antiochus, we shall not depart from the same plan. The situation[9] in which Scipio first offers himself to our consideration, is one wherein he is placed by Heraclides the Byzantian, who was dispatched to the Hellespont by Antiochus, to make the following proposals of peace to the consul, which were to this effect:—" that he, (Antiochus), would resign all his pretensions in Europe, together with the cities of Asia, that were then in alliance with Rome, and bear, besides, half the expence, that the Romans had incurred by the present war."

In answer to these proposals, the consul insisted, first, on the king's paying the whole expence of the war; next, on his confining himself within Mount Taurus; and, lastly, on his making compensation to Eumenes for whatever in-

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[9] Livy, l. 37, 34, &c.

juries he had suffered. As the ambassador considered these conditions intolerable, he applied in private to Africanus, (to whom he was ordered to pay particular attention), and offered him the restoration of his son, (who by some accident had fallen into the hands of the great king), and with him a partnership in his kingdom, if he would be content without the title of king. In what manner the son of Africanus became the prisoner of Antiochus, is not ascertained among the historians[10]. One circumstance is mentioned to the credit of the great king, which is, that he paid as much attention to his education, as if he had been his own son. From such treatment Antiochus expected some consideration from the father, in the proposals he had offered; and from the love which Scipio

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[10] Appian says he was taken prisoner by Antiochus in Greece, as he passed from Chalcis to Demetrias. From Pliny, it would appear as if the youth had been taken in the last great battle of Magnesia, wherein he must be mistaken. His words are: "Tabulam victoriæ suæ Asiaticæ in Capitolio posuit Lucius Scipio: idque ægrè tulisse fratrem Africanum tradunt, iratum haud immeritò, quoniam filius ejus in illo prælio captus fuerat."—PLIN. l. 35, c. 4.

Filium (Africani) quem rex (Antiochus) parvo navigio trajicientem ceperat. L. 31, c. 7.—JUSTIN.

had for his child, his hopes of success were not diminished. The answer which Africanus made the ambassador, was to the following effect: "I am not so much surprized that you are unacquainted with the character of the Romans and of me, to whom you are sent, as I am, that you are totally ignorant of the fortune and situation of him who has sent you. If your master had any idea, that a concern about the probable event of the war would have induced us to make peace with him, he should never have let us set foot on Asiatic ground. But having once permitted us to pass the Hellespont, he has by this act received our yoke, to which he should now submit with patience, and not pretend to treat on the ground of equality. As to myself personally, I shall consider the king's restoring to me my son, as the noblest present his generosity can make me; any other instance of his liberality, my mind certainly will never require. I pray the Gods, my fortune never may. If Antiochus will be content with my personal acknowledgment for a personal favour, he shall ever find me sensible and grateful; but, in a public capacity, I can neither give him any thing, nor receive any thing from him. Go then, and carry this answer to your king; and tell him, he is

undone if he perseveres in the war, his true interest being to make peace with the Romans, on whatever terms they are pleased to grant."

As soon as the ambassador found that the proposals of his master were rejected, he departed; and after making a report of them to his own court, it is said Antiochus shewed signs of the most violent rage[1], declaring, "that he was not yet reduced to such a desperate condition, as to suffer himself to be stripped of his kingdom, and that the proposals made him were rather incentives to war, than inducements to peace."

When Africanus began to reflect on the perilous situation of his son, and what might be the consequence of his answer to Heraclides, he was so overcome by the poignancy of his feelings, that he fell sick in the neighbourhood of Elæa, in Ætolia. As soon as the great king heard of his indisposition, he behaved like a truly great man, and sent him his son without a ransom[2]. Scipio's joy was so great at seeing his child, that

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[1] Δεισας δεκ θρονε αλτο και ιαχε.

HOMER.

[2] Livy, l. 37, c. 37.

It is said he sent the boy *regiis muneribus donatus.*—V. MAXIMUS.

his disorder assumed a most favourable complexion, which laid the foundation of an almost immediate recovery; for as the present was highly grateful to the mind of the father, so was the satisfaction which it gave, no less salutary to his body. To the deputies of Antiochus, who came with the youth, Scipio gave the following answer: "When you return, tell your king that I thank him; and at present can make him no other return than my advice, which is, that he should not come to an engagement until he hears that I have joined the army."—It is hard, says a modern historian[3], to guess what was the real import of such advice, if it was not, as another writer[4] observes, that Scipio might have hoped, that by the delay of a few days, the king would have had time to make more serious reflections, than what he had done on the subject of concluding peace; for had he not entertained some such opinion, of what use could his presence have been to Antiochus in the day of battle?

As soon as Scipio was recovered from his indisposition, and able to travel, he set out from

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[3] Hooke.

[4] Rollin.

Elæa; but previous to his arrival at Sardis, the battle of Magnesia was fought and won. Some writers, partial to the character of Africanus, are of opinion that he affected indisposition, from a desire not to rob his brother of any share in the glory, which against the present enemy, he perceived might be easily gained. The adjustment of the terms of the peace which followed the victory of Magnesia, was entirely entrusted by the consul to the care and management of his brother Africanus, who was in every point of view more qualified for the business than himself.

From the anxiety Antiochus had of procuring peace on any tolerable terms, he despatched ambassadors to the Roman camp, to offer his submission. On arriving, they made their application to the consul, through the mediation of Africanus, from whom, in consideration of what had past, they conceived hopes of obtaining more favourable conditions. A council was summoned, to hear what they had to propose, when Zeuxis, the chief of them, spoke to this effect: "We are not come, Romans, to make any proposals on our part, but only to know from you, by what means our king may expiate his fault, and obtain from his conquerors forgiveness and

peace. We know it has always been your practice, with a becoming magnanimity of soul, to pardon the kings and nations you have subdued: your present victory, which has given you the dominion of the whole world, requires a more illustrious manifestation than ever of that magnanimity. You have it now in your power, Romans, after the example of the immortal Gods, laying aside all contention whatever with mortal beings, to protect and spare the human race[5]."

The answer returned by Scipio to the deputies, having been previously prepared by his council, was to the following effect: "Of what is in the power of the immortal gods, we Romans possess just as much as they are pleased to bestow. Our courage, which is under the direction of our own mind, is the same in every vicissitude of fortune: what it was yesterday, the same it is to-day; it is neither elevated by prosperity, nor depressed by adversity[6]. The

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[5] Livy, l. 37, c. 35.

[6] Such was the sentiment of the heathens; but christianity gives us very different notions, and teaches us to believe that virtue is wholly the gift of God. It is surprising how men of such enlightened minds should have been so grossly mistaken, as never to have reflected upon the weakness of human nature, and how easily it is

peace will become disadvantageous to the king, in the exact proportion of his fortunes becoming every day more precarious by means of delay. If he makes any hesitation in accepting the terms which are now offered, let him know, that it is more difficult to pull down the majesty of kings from the highest to the middle condition of life, than it is, from that intermediate state, to hurl it down to the very lowest."

One of the conditions of peace made with Antiochus was, that Hannibal should be delivered up to the Romans, it being supposed that

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turned aside from the path of virtue. Hear what Horace says, in opposition to this light of revelation:

Sed satis est orare Jovem, quæ donat et aufert,
Det vitam, det opes: *æquum mi animum ipse parabo.*

And what Cicero says, in his *Natura Deorum:* Atque hoc omnes mortales sic habent, externas commoditates . . . a diis se habere: virtutem autem nemo unquam acceptam deo retulit. Nimirum recte . . . . Nam quis, quod bonus vir esset, gratias diis egit unquam? At quòd dives, quòd honoratus, quòd incolumis . . . . Judicium hoc omnium mortalium est, fortunam a deo petendam, a seipso sumendam esse sapientiam.

" The impious arrogance of this opinion of almost all heathens, (says Walker, in his excellent edition of Livy), is confuted not only by true philosophy, but by the christian revelation, which is ever consonant to true philosophy."

no peace could be maintained with any prince who should afford the Carthaginian an asylum. Antiochus, to his eternal honour, is said to have rejected such a condition; and in the consideration of its being one disgraceful in itself, we will venture to assert it was never required by Scipio, but by his unforgiving country. The continued persecution of Hannibal, and the vindictive spirit with which it was carried on, were very unbecoming the dignity and manly character of the Roman people.

When at length this great, but as yet ill understood general, found that no asylum was to be had in the court of Prusias, king of Bithynia[7], (to which he had fled on the first suspicion entertained of Antiochus's fidelity), he withdrew to the castle of Libyssa[8], wherein he shut him-

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[7] Exitus ergo quis est? O gloria, vincitur idem
Nempe, et in exilium præceps fugit, atque ibi *magnus*
Mirandusque cliens sedet ad prætoria regis,
Donec Bithyno libeat vigilare tyranno.

JUVENAL.

[8] In Bithynia vicus est juxta littus, de quo vulgatum carmen erat—

"Corpus Hannibalis Libyssa tumulabit terra."

In Pliny's time, nothing remained of the place but Hannibal's tomb.

self up; and whilst there, he employed most of his time in forming subterraneous passages, by means of which he might make his escape, in case of being discovered and assailed by Roman malice. The moment intelligence reached him that the castle was surrounded by soldiers, and that every outlet was closely beset, he hesitated not an instant in preferring death to slavery: he resolved to die[9]. Then taking the poison in his hand, which he had always kept in readiness, as a sure antidote against the sharp diseases of adverse fortune, he is said, when just in the act of swallowing it, to have spoken in the following terms[10]: "Let us deliver the Romans from the disquietude which has so long haunted them, and makes them so impatient to await the death of a poor old man. The time was, when they were under the influence of more generous feelings; yes, the time was, when they were known

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[9] Finem animæ, quæ res humanas miscuit olim,
Non gladii, non saxa dabant, non tela, sed ille
Cannarum vindex, et tanti sanguinis ultor
Annulus——

JUVENAL.

[10] Livy, l. 39, c. 51.
Liberemus curâ populum Romanum, &c.

LIVY.

to warn their enemy[1] against impending danger. But at present what is their conduct? They basely send an embassy to seek the life of an exiled man, and to induce a feeble monarch to violate the laws of hospitality." When he had uttered these words, he drank off the poison, and died as he had lived, with the most intrepid magnanimity[2]! His death reflected an eternal ignominy and disgrace upon the Romans, whose insatiable thirst of power and empire, had extinguished all generous sentiments, and every spark of virtue in their minds.

This great man breathed his last, in the year of Rome 570, and seventieth year of his age, and was buried, according to the account of Aurelius Victor, in a stone coffin at Libyssa, on which were only engraved the four following words: "*Annibal hic situs*[3] *est.*" Livy closes

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[1] Pyrrhus.

[2] ——Ac placidis exarmat fata venenis—
There, dauntless as he liv'd, the envenom'd bowl,
Freed from his bonds of flesh, his struggling soul,
And unpropitious, even in death, to Rome,
His death upbraids her from the silent tomb.
JEPHSON'S ROMAN PORTRAITS.

[3] Siti dicuntur illi, qui conditi.
Sylla was the first of the Patrician branch of the Cor-

his eventful life in one brief sentence: "Hic vitæ exitus fuit Hannibalis." Had Hannibal, whose tragical end we have just related, been the lawful sovereign of the Carthaginians, or one who could have commanded by his own authority, such supplies as the war wherein he was engaged, required; it is probable, writes Sir Walter Raleigh, that he would have torn up the Roman empire by the roots. But he was so strongly opposed by a cowardly and envious faction at home, that his own virtue, destitute of public force to sanction it, did at last dissolve, not only in his own ruin, but in that of his country and commonweal.

Before we have done with the Asiatic war, one circumstance merits particular attention, as far as it serves to evince the respect which was ever paid by Scipio to the established religion of his country, whenever he could make it subservient to its interests[4]. The prodigies reported of his own birth, together with the opinions entertained of his familiar intercourse with the gods,

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nelian family, whose body was not interred. It was feared that his bones might one day be treated as he had treated those of Marius, which he had caused to be dug up, and thrown into the river.

[4] Livy, l. 37, c. 33.

seemed, as it were, to inspire him with the necessity of respecting the forms and ceremonies of the religion in which he was educated.

History informs us, that after the army of the Scipios passed the Hellespont, and lay encamped on its shore, the time arrived of celebrating the festival of the *Sacred Bucklers*, during which, all persons belonging to the sacred college of the Salii, were not permitted to march[5]. This anniversary feast caused a temporary separation of Africanus from the army, because he, as a member of that body, was obliged to attend to its due celebration. On the appointed day, he appeared at the head of the procession as Præsul, in the usual robes of the order, consisting of an embroidered tunic, bound round by a girdle, which was fastened with buckles of brass, a high cap of a conical form on his head, a sword by his side, with a spear in one hand, and a shield called ancile, or the shield of Mars, in the other. Thus equipped, he led the mysterious dance, and joined in singing hymns in honour of the god Mars, the patron of the day.

Seneca[6], in alluding to the effeminate dancing

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[5] *Dies religiosi ad iter* sunt, quibus per religionem non licet iter facere.

[6] Seneca de tranquillitatê animi.

of his own time, says, that the great Scipio, though accustomed to camps, and honoured with triumphs, used oftentimes to dance to the sound of music. His dancing was of that manly, free, and noble kind, such as those ancient worthies were wont, in solemn, or in festive seasons, to practise; and of which they had no cause to be ashamed, had they been witnessed by their enemies.

Scipio celebrated the festival with more than usual splendour, on account of its being the first time in which it was exhibited to a foreign people. He had also an idea, that nothing could tend more to inspire the troops with necessary courage for a new war, than the assurance that they were to fight under the immediate protection of the god of battles.

After peace was concluded between the Romans and Antiochus, and the troubles of Asia ended, the spirit of dissention, which the dangers of a foreign war seldom suffered to rear its head, broke out at Rome, and blazed with considerable violence. The over-zealous republicans of that period took pleasure in prosecuting the chief men of the state, conceiving, probably, that it was a degree of refined policy to humble those in time of peace, whom they had raised

to the highest stations in time of war. Two tribunes of the people, of the name of Petilii, in the year of Rome 565, at the instigation of Cato, (who seems to have inherited all the prejudices of Fabius Maximus, against the character of Scipio, in addition to his own), undertook to accuse Scipio and his brother Lucius, of embezzling the public money that was taken in the Asiatic war, and of receiving bribes from Antiochus. This proceeding was variously construed, according to people's different dispositions; some blamed not the plebeian tribunes, but the public in general, for suffering such a process to be carried on. Such was the reward which the two Scipios were doomed to reap from their country, for subduing the last enemy who could have disputed with Rome the sovereignty of the world: for after the fall of the great king, kingdom after kingdom tumbled into their lap.

The jealousy of Cato sprung originally from Africanus's appointment to the command of the army in Spain, and certainly that jealousy was not diminished by his subsequent successes in that country, all being considered by the rigid censor, as so many laurels snatched from his own brow. Ambition, observes Sir Walter

Raleigh, was the vice of Cato, which being poisoned by envy, troubled both himself and the whole city, whilst he lived: and as his birth was humble, he hated the nobility, and specially such as were of the highest estimation. At the suggestion of Cato[7], the two tribunes already noticed, moved in the senate, that Africanus should be cited to give an account of all the money he had received from the great king, together with such spoil as was taken in that war. A prosecution of this kind must appear strange, and almost unaccountable, when we call to our recollection the sentiments of grateful admiration that were lately entertained in his favour, and which are noticed by Valerius Maximus in the following strain of praise and panegyric[8]: "Our ancestors," writes that author, "were not deficient in expressing their gratitude, nor backward in bestowing such rewards as were due to the elder Africanus, for it was an object of their highest ambition, to adorn his greatest enterprises with becoming honours. They wished to place his statues in their courts

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[7] As soon as Cato saw the republic in a condition to do without Africanus, he resolved to destroy him.

[8] Val. Maximus, l. 4, c. 7.

of justice, in their halls of public debate, and even in the very chapel of Jupiter the omnipotent; nay, his image, adorned with triumphal robes, they were desirous of laying on the holy couches of the gods in the Capitol. Had he pleased, he might have been consul for life, and perpetual dictator[9]. But he declined all these marks of popular and senatorial favour, and acquired more credit by refusing them, than he would have gained by accepting them[10]."

Surely those distinguished instances of high forbearance, noticed by Valerius Maximus, are sufficient to demonstrate an uncommon greatness of mind, which was able to adjust itself to the temper of a constitution founded on an equality of rights. But what then must be thought of them, says Livy, when they were acknowledged by an enemy[1], at the very time he was employed in censuring him? To prosecute *him*, of whom such sentiments were entertained, is

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[9] These extraordinary honours were offered him, it is said, on his return to Rome, after the conquest of Africa.

[10] Quorum sibi nullum neque plebiscito, neque senatus consulto decerni patiendo, pene tantum in recusandis honoribus se gessit, quantum gesserat in emerendis.—VAL. MAX.

[1] Sempronius Gracchus.

one instance among many, of what Shakespear calls "the villanous inconstancy of man." But who can escape censure? The whitest virtue is often stricken by the poisonous shafts of back-wounding calumny. Fox, in his Letter to the Electors of Westminster, makes an observation, which is not inapplicable to the present subject: "To be the object of calumny and misrepresentation, gives me uneasiness, it is true, but an uneasiness not wholly unmixed with pride and satisfaction; since the experience of all ages and countries teaches, that calumny and misrepresentation are frequently the most unequivocal testimonies of the zeal, and possibly the effect, with which he against whom they are directed, has served the public."

All honourable distinctions of superior merit, it is known, were as constantly declined by Scipio, as he ever persevered in deserving them; and being content with the condition of a Roman citizen, he displayed by his moderation, what Livy calls the "*ingentem magnitudinem animi*," the prodigious greatness of his soul.

As soon as the two Petilii, whose names have only become known to posterity by this accusation, had preferred their charge in the senate[2],

[2] A. V. C. 565.

Scipio arose, and taking a volume of papers out of his bosom, which had been drawn up by his brother, said[3]—"In this volume is contained an accurate statement of all you wish to know; in it you will find a particular account, both of the money and plunder received from Antiochus."

Read it aloud, was the cry of the tribunes, and afterwards let it be deposited in the treasury. "That I will not do, (said Scipio), nor will I so insult myself;" and without saying a word more, he tore it in pieces in the presence of them all[4]: extremely hurt, observes Aulus Gellius, that the man to whom the republic owed its glory and preservation, should be called upon to give an account for money and plunder taken in war.

In some time after this, a tribune of the name of Nævius, whose fame arises from his infamy, cited Scipio to answer before the people to the same charges of the Petilii, to which were added

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[3] A. Gellius, l. 4, c. 18.

[4] Tam constantem defensionem Scipionis universus senatus comprobavit.—Val. Maximus, l. 3, c. 7.

It is not improbable, says Hooke, but that the tearing of his accounts, furnished his enemies with the chief advantage they had against him.

I cannot suppose, says Montaigne, that the most seared conscience could have counterfeited such an assurance.

the following: [5] "That Antiochus had restored his son without a ransom; that he himself had received sums of money from the great king, who had shewn him as much attention and respect, as if peace and war depended on his will alone; that he had gone into Asia for no other purpose than to persuade the eastern nations (as he had before the western and southern) that he was the head and pillar of the Roman empire; that a mighty state, which was the mistress of the world, lay under the shadow of his wing, and that the decrees of the senate, and orders of the people, were all regulated by his nod."

As soon as Nævius had recited these charges, which, says Livy, were grounded on suspicions, and not on proofs, he sat down amidst the disapprobation of almost all who heard him. The pleadings, however, lasted till night, which consequently adjourned the further hearing of the business to another day. When it arrived, the tribunes took their seats at a very early hour. The accused soon after arrived, with a numerous train of friends and clients, and passing through the midst of the assembly to the rostrum[6],

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[5] Livy, l. 38, c. 51.

[6] Valerius Maximus says, he put on his head a triumphal crown.

mounted it without the least emotion, and from thence, with that air of dignity and confidence which conscious innocence and superior virtue alone are able to inspire, and which he preserved in the greatest danger, addressed the audience, as soon as silence was made, to the following effect: "On this day, tribunes of the people, and you Romans, I recollect that I conquered Hannibal, and the Carthaginians, the greatest enemies we ever encountered. Is it becoming us to spend a day like this in vulgar wrangling and contention? Let us not then, I beseech you, be ungrateful to the gods, but let us leave this dissentious man here, and immediately go and return thanks to them, for the many favours they have vouchsafed to grant us[7]."

After uttering these words, he proceeded from the rostrum to the Capitol; on seeing which, the whole assembly, that had met to decide on the conduct of the accused, leaving his accuser standing in the midst, followed[8] the defendant

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[7] A. Gellius, l. 4, c. 18; Valerius Maximus, l. 3, c. 1; Aurelius Victor.

[8] "Il fut suivi, (says Voltaire), par tout le peuple au Capitole, et nos cœurs l'y suivant encore en lisant ce trait d'histoire; quoiq' apres tout il eut mieux valu rendre ses comptes que se tirer d'affaire par un bon mot."

to the Capitol, from which they attended him to his own house with joy and solemn acclamations. Even Nævius himself, says V. Maximus, to avoid the shame of his ridiculous situation, became from an accuser, a warm admirer of Scipio. An oration is said to have been spoken by Scipio on the occasion; but they who doubt its authenticity, do not deny, says Aulus Gellius, that the words above given, were the identical words uttered by Scipio. This was a day which afforded Scipio a more ample testimony of the favour of the public, and a clearer estimate of his real greatness, than that on which he rode triumphant over the vanquished Syphax, and the humbled Carthaginians. But alas! says Livy, it was the last day that shone with lustre on Publius Scipio, who, when he saw that nothing was to be expected, but an endless repetition of continual broils and disputes with an inveterate faction, yielded to the storm, and left Rome, and his unthankful countrymen, with the fixed determination of never attending another trial[9]. Scipio's[10] soul was so upright, his natural temper

[9] Qui populo serviet, avido, invido, ignoro, ad
Mutationem proelivi, et quod caput est, ingrato,
Num aliquando beatus esse poterit?

[10] Livy, l. 38, c. 52.

and spirit so lofty, and he had been used to such an exalted career of good fortune, that he knew not how to act the part of an accused man, nor stoop to the humiliating deportment of appearing as a culprit at the bar of that country, which he had saved from ruin.

The day succeeding that on which Scipio had triumphed over the worthless Nævius, the Petilii again came forward with another accusation against him, to which he deigned not to make any reply. When summoned by the cryer to make his appearance, his brother Lucius offered in excuse, that his absence was caused by sickness. This apology being deemed inadmissible by his prosecutors, they insisted that his not coming, was owing to the same arrogant spirit that actuated his conduct on every former trial, and had been the cause of his treating all their proceedings with the most sovereign contempt. At last[1], when they were going to have him condemned by default, certain of the tribunes, at the earnest intercession of his brother, accepted the apology made, and obtained leave for having a new day set down for the hearing. This order for a new trial was signed by all the tribunes ex-

[1] Livy, l. 38, 52, &c.

cept Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus[2], who, unmindful of every difference subsisting between himself and Scipio, forbade his name being subscribed to the resolution of his colleagues, though all expected from him, as being an avowed enemy to the Cornelian family, a most rigid sentence.

When Gracchus rose to deliver his opinion, he said he considered sickness as a sufficient apology, for had Africanus come to Rome, and appealed to him, he would have supported him in refusing to abide a new trial; to which he added, "That Publius Scipio, by his glorious achievements, by the honours received from the Roman people, by the concordant testimony of gods and men, had risen to such an height of dignity, that were he to stand as a criminal under the rostra, and be obliged to listen to the taunts and reproaches of young men, it would

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[2] ——Gens inclyta, magno
Atque animosa viro, multusque in imagine claris
Præfulgebat avus titulis, bellique, domique.

This is the panegyric of Silius Italicus on the family of the Gracchi, when Sempronius Gracchus was summoned to the assistance of his country, after the disastrous battle of the Ticinus.

reflect more disgrace on the Roman people than on him."

After pronouncing this opinion, he added with great indignation, "Shall Scipio, the subduer of Africa, stand at the feet of you, tribunes? Was it for this he defeated and routed in Spain four Carthaginian generals and their four armies? Was it for this he took Syphax prisoner, vanquished Hannibal, made Carthage tributary to you, and removed Antiochus to the other side of Mount Taurus? Was it, I say, for all this, that he is now to crouch under the two Petilii, and that you are to gain the palm of victory over Publius Africanus?—Will men of illustrious characters[3], never, by their own merits, or by public honours, arrive at a safe and inviolable sanctuary, where their old age may repose, if not revered, at least secure from injury?"

This unexpected declaration from the mouth of a man who was supposed to be the mortal foe of the Scipios, made a deep impression not only on the rest of the assembly, but even on the pro-

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[3] Nullisne meritis suis, nullis vestris honoribus unquam in arcem tutam, et velut sanctam, clari viri pervenient, ubi, si non venerabilis, inviolata saltem senectus corum considat?—Livy.

secutors, who said that they would consider further, what might be consistent with their rights and duties. As soon as the assembly of the people was dissolved, the senate met, and ordered the warmest thanks to be returned to Tiberius Gracchus, for having consulted the public good in preference to private animosity; at the same time heavy reproaches were cast on the Petilii, for having attempted to make themselves conspicuous by the calamity of another, and to gather laurels from a triumph gained over Africanus. Soon after this, the prosecution was no more heard of—" Silentium deinde de Africano fuit," are the words of Livy. Vitam Literni egit sine desiderio urbis—he passed the rest of his days at Liternum without a wish to revisit the city.[4] It is said that when he was dying, he ordered his body to be buried at Liternum; and his monument to be erected there, that even the honours of interment might not be performed in his ungrateful[5] country: so dissatisfied was he

[4] Scipionem *dimisit* respublica.—SENECA.

[5] " Very ungrateful," says Hooke, " to ask him what he had done with the public money"—Yes, his country was very ungrateful, in preferring an unfounded charge, a charge never proved, against a man who had been its deliverer.

with the manner in which he had been treated, that he desired his wife Æmilia not to carry his bones to Rome[6].

"He was a man," says Livy[7], "of signal celebrity, but his celebrity shone brighter in the time of war than in that of peace. The beginning of his life was more illustrious than the end of it, because in his early days, he was perpetually engaged in war; and as he grew old, the lustre of his character faded, in proportion as opportunities became less frequent for the exercise of his military talents. His second consulship, even if added to the honour of the censorship, was far from being equally brilliant with the first. The commission he held in Asia cannot be compared with it—a commission rendered useless, not only by indisposition, but clouded by the misfortune of his son, and the necessity

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Scipio, says Swinburne, by his voluntary exile, preserved his person from indignity, without being indebted for his safety to a dispensation of any positive, though unjust law of his country.

[6] Moriens ab uxore petiit, ne corpus suum Romam referretur.—Aur. Victor.

Cineres patriæ suæ suos negavit, quam in cineres collabi passus non fuerat.—V. Maximus, l. 5. c. 3.

[7] Livy, l. 38, c. 53.

in which he became involved, either of submitting to a trial, or withdrawing himself from that and his country together. However, he stood alone, and enjoyed without a competitor the distinguished honour of having terminated the second Punic war, which of all wars, was the most difficult and perilous ever carried on by the Roman people[8]."

No sooner were the eyes of Africanus closed[9], than Cato* turned the whole tide of his resentment against his brother, who being arraigned, was found guilty, with his quæstor and one of his lieutenants, of having defrauded the treasury of great sums of money which had been received in Asia on account of the public. His quæstor and lieutenant entered into security for the payment of what was due by them[10]; but Scipio refused giving any security whatever, and most solemnly protested he had given in a true account of all he had received. Notwithstanding this grave

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[8] Cicero, in his oration against Cæcilius, sums up the character of Scipio in these few words—Homo virtutê, fortunâ, gloriâ rebûs gestis amplissimus fuit.

[9] Livy, l. 38, c. 54.

Mirifico livore in omnes Scipiones exardebat Cato.

* See Appendix, No. III.

[10] Livy, l. 38, c. 58.

protestation of his innocence, the officers of justice were ordered to convey him to prison; but whilst they were in the actual discharge of their duty, Sempronius Gracchus once more interposed, and declared, "he should make no objection to their raising the money out of his effects, but yet he would never suffer a Roman general to be dragged to the common jail, wherein the leaders of the enemy, that were taken in battle by him, had been confined."

The decree passed by the interposition of Gracchus, was to the following effect[2]: "Lucius Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus having obtained the honour of a triumph, and thrown the general of the enemy into prison, it seemed inconsistent with the dignity of the republic, to commit a general of the Roman people to a place where the leaders of the enemies had been by him confined. Therefore I use my interposition to save Lucius Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus from the violence of my colleagues."

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[1] Scipionem Asiaticum quamvis inimicum, duci in carcerem non est passus. T. S. Gracchus.—AUR. VICTOR.

[2] A. Gellius, l. 7, c. 19. Previous to his reading said decree, he swore, "se cum Scipionibus in gratiam non rediisse."

When the entire property of Lucius Scipio was seized and valued, it was found inadequate to the payment of the sum demanded, and what redounded to his honour was, that amongst all his effects, there was not found the trace of the smallest article which could be considered as Asiatic. His friends and relations, indignant at the treatment he had received, came and offered to make compensation for his loss; but he refused to accept of any thing except what was barely needful for his maintenance. Whatever was necessary, says Livy[3], for domestic use, was purchased at the sale of his property by his nearest relations; and the public hatred which had been directed against the Scipios, recoiled on all who were concerned in the prosecution.

Can any thing be a greater proof, how transient is the gale of public favour, than the treatment shewn to Lucius Scipio? a treatment which fully justifies Cicero in the following exclamation: "How lamentable is the situation of those citizens who have done the republic the greatest services, when they find their glorious deeds not only forgotten, but often imputed to them

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[3] Livy, l. 38, c. 60.

as the greatest crimes." But Rome at last recovered from her phrensy, and did ample justice to his innocence and merit* : for history informs us, she took pleasure in making every amends for his losses, by giving him such various opportunities of enriching himself, as enabled him for ten continued days to celebrate games in memory of his victory over Antiochus[4].

The Scipios were so sensible of the disinterested conduct of Sempronius Gracchus throughout this whole business, and so anxious to mark their sense of it, that they gave him in marriage the youngest daughter of Africanus, the incomparable Cornelia, whose two sons, Tiberius and Caius, were equally renowned for their virtues and misfortunes. But the following account of the manner in which Cornelia was betrothed to Gracchus, is transmitted by Livy among the traditionary stories that were current in his time. He says, that the senators who happened to sup together in the capitol[5] the day on which

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* See Appendix, No. IV.

[4] Populus Romanus Stipem spargere cæpit Spurio Posthumio, Quinto Marcio, Consulibus; tanta abundantia pecuniæ erat, ut eam conferret Lucio Scipioni, ex quâ is ludos fecit.—PLIN. l. 33, c. 10.

[5] Non contentus enim Scipio auctore senatu, in Capi-

the lictors attempted to carry Lucius Scipio to prison, all rose in a body, and requested Africanus, before the company broke up, to contract his daughter Cornelia to Sempronius Gracchus; and that a contract was executed in due form in the presence of the whole assembly. As soon as Africanus returned home, he told his wife Æmilia, that he had concluded a match for her younger daughter; at which the lady, feeling her pride wounded, indignantly cried out, that he ought not to have disposed of their common child, even to Sempronius Gracchus himself, without consulting her mother; to which Africanus made this reply: "Why, woman, Gracchus is the very man to whom I have betrothed her!"

How long Africanus lived at Liternum, or how he spent his time there, is not ascertained. He had nothing for which he could reproach himself in his retreat: not so his unthankful countrymen, whose ingratitude, as has already been observed, he did not forget at the hour of his death, when he ordered a tomb to be erected

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tolio Jovis epulo cum Graccho concordiam communicasse; filiam quoque ei Corneliam protinus ibi despondit. —Val. Max. l. 4, c. 2.

at Liternum, wherein his bones might rest, and his country be deprived of the honour of possessing them[6].

A modern writer[7], in his history of the Roman republic, regrets that the memory of Scipio should be marked by so peevish a stain; particularly when the memory of Hannibal is free from such an aspersion, though treated worse than Scipio; adding, that it is the part of such men to do what others cannot perform, and that of the vulgar and malicious to detract from their merit. Other Romans were proud of their country, but Scipio was perhaps the first Roman who thought, not without reason, that his country should be proud of him; and who, accordingly bore the freedom of being questioned as a criminal by his fellow-citizens, with impatience and disdain. However, in consequence of what he said, when dying, of his country's ingratitude, he was denied a funeral

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[6] Africanus Superior non solum contusam et confractam belli Punici armis rempublicam, sed pene jam exsanguem atque morientem, Africæ dominam reddidit: cujus clarissima opera injuriis pensando cives vici eam ignobilis ac desertæ paludis accolam fecerunt: ejusque voluntarii exilii acerbitatem non tacitus ad inferos tulit, sepulchro suo inscribi jubendo, *ingrata Patria, ne ossa quedem mea, habes.*—VALERIUS MAXIMUS, l. 5, c. 3.

[7] Ferguson.

oration, a tribute of respect not refused to the commonest patrician. This mark of attention was not only refused him, but accusations of misconduct were exhibited against him by his enemies. The splendour of his victories, and the advantages he obtained for his country, were insufficient to protect and shelter him from the murmurs of the envious and the calumnies of the mean[8]. Hence is founded this great and important truth, that there is no security against injury or reproach, but what is placed in the consciousness of integrity and virtue[9].

Be this thy brazen bulwark of defence,
Still to preserve thy conscious innocence,
Nor e'er turn pale with grief[10].

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[8] Scipio was accused of being a great sleeper, and that for no other reason, says Montaigne, but that men were displeased, that he was the only man in whom no other fault was to be found. Montaigne quotes no authority for the above anecdote.

[9] A good conscience is a port, which is land-locked on every side; and where no winds can possibly invade, no tempests can arise. There a man may stand up on the shore, and not only see his own image, but that of his Maker, clearly reflected from the undisturbed and silent waters.—DRYDEN.

[10] ——Hic murus aheneus esto
Nil conscire sibi, nullâ pallescere culpâ.
HORACE.

Yet notwithstanding all the displeasure that existed among certain people at Rome, the day on which the news of Scipio's death was known, proved a day of general sorrow: for the very men who refused to pay him the appropriate and usual honours, could not help mingling their tears with those of the public[1].

Livy says, he saw at Literum the monument which was erected to him, and the statue which stood on the top of it, lying on the ground, where it had been blown down by a storm. Pliny writes, that in his time was to be seen a myrtle[2] of an extraordinary size, growing at Literum, underneath which was a cave wherein, it was said, a dragon watched the soul of that great man. There were also to be seen some olive trees[3] planted by his own hand. All these inconsiderable objects serve to shew how much the idea of greatness is attached to every circumstance connected in the most distant manner with illustrious men; and the reason is, that each inspires interest, and claims some attention.

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[1] Livy, l. 38, c. 56.

[2] Item myrtus eodem loco conspicuæ magnitudinis. Subest specus, in quô manes ejus custodire draco traditur. —Plin. l. 16, c. 43.

[3] Manû satæ olivæ.—Plin. l. 16. c. 43.

There was a monument of the Scipios at Rome, outside the Capenian gate, whereon were erected three statues, two of them were said to be those of Publius and Lucius Scipio, and the third that of the poet Ennius. The erection of this monument in happier times, proves that great men, though they have suffered more persecutions in republics than in other forms of government, yet sooner or later the day of retribution arrives, wherein ample justice is paid to their memories[4]. Though no people were more capable of appreciating the reward due to merit, than the Romans, we must at the same time allow, that the remembrance of no man, was more likely to inspire such a sentiment than that of Africanus.

That commonwealths have frequently treated with great severity their eminent generals, is a matter which requires little demonstration, it appearing from history, that such states have generally made use of them, as men have done

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[4] One eminent mark of respect was shewn to Scipio's memory, even in Valerius Maximus's time, who lived in the reign of Tiberius—"Imaginem in Cellâ Jovis optimi maximi positam habet, quæ quotiescunque funus aliquod Corneliæ celebrandum est, inde petitur, unique illi instar atrii, capitolium est.—VAL. MAX. l. 8. c. 15.

of great trees, under which they have taken shelter, in foul and stormy weather; but when the weather has become fair, they have stripped them of their leaves and plucked off their fruits, and cut down their longest and fairest branches.

Having noticed two visits paid to Liternum by Livy and Pliny, I shall take the liberty of mentioning a third, which was lately made to it by the author[5] of the Classical Tour through Italy, a work which, for good taste and liberal sentiments, merits the attention of every gentleman and scholar. "The situation of Liternum[6]," says the author, "is neither beautiful nor healthy,

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[5] Rev. John Chetwode Eustace; by whose death, polite literature has lost a warm admirer, and the Catholic Church an enlightened friend.

[6] Literni honestius Scipio, quam Baiis exulabat: ruina ejus non est tam molliter colloconda.—SENECA, EPIS. 51.

Sénéque y possedoit la maison où Scipion l'ancien passa les dernières années de sa vie. Elle étoit batie de pierre de taille, avec une muraille et de tours, dans le gout d'une forteresse. Elle etoit située au milieu d'un bois d'oliviers et de myrtes; on voyoit de ceux-la du tems de Pline, qui avoient été plantés de la main de Scipion deux cens cinquante ans auparavant. On y voyoit un beau reservoir capable d'abreuver un armée, et un petit bain étroit et tenebreux à la mode des anciens. —GIBBON.

but its name is ennobled by the residence of Scipio Africanus, who passed there the latter years of his life, a voluntary exile, in obscurity, rural labour, and philosophical studies. Whether he was buried at Liternum, or not, was a subject of doubt even in Livy's time; however, either a tomb or cenotaph was erected to him there: a stone, on which the word *Patria* is still legible, is supposed to have contained part of the inscription *ingrata patria*, &c. and gives to the modern tower the appellation of *Torre di Patria*[7]. His villa still remained in the time of Seneca, and seems to have been built with great solidity, and surrounded like a Gothic castle with a wall and tower. A rampart was also necessary, as it stood on the confines of the *Gallenaria Pinus*, a forest at one time the abode, and at all times the occasional resort, of banditti."

If, as some authors write, Scipio died at Liternum, it is probable that his ashes were first

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[7] *Torre de Patria*, une lieue au nord de Cumes, à l'embouchure du Linterne, ou Clanio, est une ancienne tour, ainsi appellée parce qu'on y voit en gros caractéres le mot *Patria*, reste d'une ancienne inscription; c'etoit, dit-on, le Tombeau de Scipion l'Africain.—De la Lande, t. 7.

interred at his villa, and were afterwards conveyed to the family sepulchre in Rome, on the Via Capena, where a sarcophagus was found a few years ago, inscribed with his name[8]. Cicero speaks with great confidence of the year in which Scipio died; yet Livy found so great a difference of opinion among historians on the subject, that he declares himself unable to ascertain it. From a fragment in Polybius we learn, that in his time the authors who had written of Scipio, were ignorant of some circumstances of his life, and mistaken in others; and from Livy it appears, that the accounts respecting his life, trial, death, funeral and sepulchre, were so contradictory, that he was not able to determine what tradition, or whose writings he ought to credit. The general opinion is, that he died in the fifty-seventh year of his age; though a modern writer[9] in his Universal History, without quoting any authority, says he died at his country seat at the age of forty-eight.

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[8] Swinburne, in his travels through Italy, says, that no urn or monumental inscription belonging to this illustrious member of the family of the Scipios, has been found in their sepulchre lately discovered at Rome, near the gate of St. Sebastian.

[9] Anquetil.

No character has been celebrated with more cordial praise by ancient and modern writers, (Hooke excepted), than that of Scipio Africanus. His name stands at the head of the most eminent military characters[10] of the republic, as being a man, whose talents as a soldier were peculiarly conspicuous; for at the age of seventeen, his father owed him his life, at the battle

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[10] One of Scipio's memorable sayings in war, I shall give the reader from Valerius Maximus.—Scipio Africanus used to say, that in the business of war, it was disgraceful to cry, *I had not thought, non putaram*, he being of opinion, that all matters to be transacted by the sword, were not to be undertaken, till after most serious and well-weighed deliberation, and the justice of the same fully ascertained. For that error is not to be remedied, which is committed in the heat and violence of war. He added, we should never engage with an enemy except where the necessity was urgent, and the opportunity favorable—most prudent advice. For to omit an opportunity of fighting, when there is every prospect of success, is madness in the extreme: to which may be added, that the man who is forced to the necessity of fighting, and yet declines the contest, terminates his own pusillanimity by the most disastrous issue. Of such as commit these blunders in war, the one party knows not how to make use of the smiles of fortune, nor does the other know how to resist her frowns.—VAL. MAXIMUS, l. 7, c. 2.

of the Ticinus; and his country, its safety at the battle of Zama. Scipio was frequently heard to say, that he had rather save the life of a single soldier, than destroy a thousand enemies; a golden sentiment, which was frequently in the mouth of the virtuous Antoninus Pius. By this humanity of disposition, he was not only beloved by his army, who considered him as their father and protector, but likewise by all foreign nations, who admired his goodness and equity. In the sedition that broke out at Sucro, in Spain, which necessarily required the making some examples, he said, he thought it like the tearing out of his own bowels, when he saw himself obliged to expiate the crimes of eight thousand men by the death of thirty.

But besides the many rare gifts of nature that Scipio had above all others, there was in him also, according as the old writer of his life word-eth it, a certain princely grace and majesty. Furthermore, he was marvellous gentle and courteous unto them that came to him, and had an eloquent tongue, and a passing gift to win every man. He was very grave in his gesture and behaviour, and ever wore long hair[1]. In

[1] Ceperat jam ante Numidam (Massinissam) ex famâ

fine, he was truly a noble captain, worthy of all commendation, and excelled in all virtues, which did so delight his mind, that he was wont to say, (according to the report of Cato the censor), "that he was never less idle than when at leisure, nor less alone than when alone[2]." A magnificent sentence, exclaims Cicero, and wor-

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rerum gestarum admiratio viri: substitueratque animo speciem quoque corporis amplam ac magnificam. Cetera̅m major præsentis veneratio cepit; et præterquam quòd suâpte naturâ multa majestas incrat, adornabat promissa Cæsaries, habitusque corporis non cultus munditiis, sed virilis verè ac militaris, et ætas in medio viriụm robore, quod plenius nitidiusque ex morbo velut renovatus flos juventæ faciebat.—Livy, l. 28, c. 35.

[2] Cicero de Officiis, l. 3, c. 1.

St. Ambrose, in the first chapter of his third book *de Officiis*, shews that the maxim in the text is older than Scipio, and that it was verified in a more illustrious manner in the characters of Moses, Elijah, Elisha, and the Apostles, who performed so many miracles, when they seemed to be engaged in no employment. He adds, that a good man is never alone, because he is perpetually present with God; that he is never unemployed, because he is always meditating; that he seems to be unknown, and yet stands in the most eminent point of view; that when death seems to extinguish him, he enjoys a more happy state of existence; that he is never more joyful, than when he

thy of so great and wise a person; by which it appears, that in the midst of leisure, he could turn his thoughts to business, and was used, when alone, to commune with himself; so that he was never properly idle, nor ever stood in need of company to entertain him in his solitude. The fame of his illustrious actions was so great, that wherever he went, all descriptions of people were anxious to visit him; and a report was current at the time, that several captains of pirates came to see him, and kiss his victorious hands[3]; for virtue has such power and influence with all ranks of people, that it makes not only the good, but the bad, to love and respect it. What a public display is here given of this great man's glory[4], which could extort respect, and as it were, a sort of veneration, from loose and pro-

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seems to be in affliction; never richer, than when he seems poor, because all his happiness consists in the rectitude of his mind.

[3] Valerius Maximus, l. 2, c. 10.

[4] Quid hoc fructu majestatis excelsius? Quid etiam jucundius? Hostis iram admirationê sui placavit: spectaculo presentiæ suæ latronum gestientes oculos obstupefecit. *Delapsa cælo sidera, hominibus si se offerant, venerationis amplius non recipient.*

fligate men, who lived in the open and constant violation of all justice and humanity! The old historian of the life of Scipio, says, his enemies oftentimes proved his valiantness, the vanquished his mercy and clemency, and all other men his faithfulness. He then notices an epitaph that was found near Caieta, on a plate of copper set in a marble tomb, which I will take the liberty of giving, as modernised from the old English version.

The man that laid the Punic trophies low,
And foil'd her champion, Rome's most dreaded foe;
Who with fresh laureate wreaths her temples crown'd,
And o'er new kingdoms stretch'd her empire's bound,
Here lies in dust—the monumental stone,
A sad memorial, tells her glory gone;
Whom Europe, and whom Afric scarce of old
Contain'd—is now a little heap of mould.

What does Lucretius write of our mighty hero?

Scipiades, belli fulmen, Carthaginis horror,
Ossa dedit terræ, proinde ac famul' infimus esset.

The Roman chief, the Carthaginian dread,
Scipio, the thunderbolt of war, is dead,
And like a common slave, by fate in triumph led.

But where are now vanished the splendid glo-

ries of the mighty Napoleon, whose numberless victories almost bore the stamp of supernatural agency?

Embattl'd nations strove in vain
The hero's glory to restrain;
Streams arm'd with rocks, and mountains red with fire,
In vain against his force conspire.
Behold him from that tow'ring height
In ocean, set in endless night.

In what manner Scipio passed his time at Liternum, is little known; Pope supposes he was equally great there, as he was in all the magnificence of triumph:

Bold Scipio, Saviour of the Roman state,
Great in his triumphs, in retirement great[5].

Some writers say, Scipio amused himself during his retirement, in the cultivation of his farm, and in the conversation of the wise and good, without feeling the least regret at being excluded from a scene in which he had appeared with so much honour to himself, and advantage to his country. "Endeavour," says a noble writer, in his Reflections on Exile, "to copy after the ex-

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[5] Such was the lot th' immortal Roman chose,
Great in his triumph, greater in repose.
S. Boyse.

ample of Scipio at Liternum. Be able to say to yourself,

" Innocuas amo delicias, doctamque quietem.

" Rural amusements and philosophical meditations will make your hours glide smoothly on; and if the indulgence of Heaven has given you a friend like Lælius, nothing is wanting to make you completely happy."

In all Scipio's campaigns, Lælius was his chief assistant, and the man in whom he placed his greatest confidence. But the friendship subsisting between them, was not more conspicuous than was that which connected afterwards the son of the one with the grandson of the other[6].

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[6] It should be observed here, that Lord Bolingbroke often confounds the younger with the elder Scipio; a mistake into which Montaigne has fallen; and what is much more extraordinary is, that even Horace has scarcely avoided it.

——Non celeres fugæ,
Rejectæque retrorsum Annibalis minæ:
Non incendia Carthaginis impiæ,
Ejus, qui domitâ nomen ab Africâ
Lucratus rediit, clarius indicant
Laudes, quam Calabræ Pierides.

HORACE, O. l. 4, O. 8.

Whether Lælius cheered the hours of Scipio's retirement, is not distinctly marked in history by any writer. The poet Ennius is known to have been held in such particular esteem by him, that he ordered the body of his learned friend to be placed by his side[7]. The very wish he felt of having the same common sepulchre with so distinguished a poet, is a decided proof of the love he had for polite literature.

Here Scipio rests, and Ennius, side by side,
One Rome's high chief, and one Calabria's pride[8].

Valerius Maximus[9] observes, that Scipio paid this very particular honour to Ennius, from a conviction that his own actions would derive ad-

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[7] Fu Scipione uno de' primi eroi della Romana repubblica, chi alla gloria dell' armi quella ancor delle lettere felicimente congiunse; ed Ennio fu uno de' dotti uomini cui egli anche in mezzo al rumore dell' armi godeva di avere a fianchi.—TIRABOSCHI.

Prior Africanus Q. Ennii statuam sepulchro suo imponi jussit, clarumque illud nomen, imo verò spolium ex tertiâ orbis partê raptum, in cinere supremo cum poetæ titulô legi.—PLIN. l. 7, c. 30.

[8] Ennius emeruit, Calabris in montibus ortus
Contiguus poni, Scipio magne, tibi.
OVID, *Ars Amatoria*, l. 3, l. 409.

[9] Lib. 8, c. 14.

ditional lustre from the poet's writings; that the memorial of them would endure as long as the Roman empire should flourish, and Africa be subject to Italy, and the Capitol command the world, provided that they had the advantage of being rewarded in the works of genius.

[10] He fought, he conquer'd, not for vulgar fame,
But with that blazonry to crown his name,
Which Clio's hand bestows; for this the bard
Was the prime object of the chief's regard;
For honour loves, beneath the Muse's eye,
Ambitious of her smile, the task to ply:
Whoe'er aspire to deeds of high renown,
The Muse's charms with holy rev'rence own.

If there is an exceptionable part in Scipio's public conduct, says an elegant modern writer, it is that of not vindicating his character from the charge of the impeachment, and treating the accusation with the utmost disdain. When he refused complying with the summons for his appearance, and withdrew to his villa, he answered all the purposes which they who were the most

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[10] Non sine Pieriis exercuit artibus arma,
Semper erat vatum maxima cura duci,
Gaudet enim virtus testes sibi jungere musas,
Carmen amat quisque carminê digna gerit.

moderate among his enemies, had in view by the prosecution; and as it removed him by a sort of voluntary exile from Rome, it rendered his power no longer an object of danger or alarm. Besides, it was the opinion of the most constitutional republicans[1], that no citizen ought to stand so high above his fellows, as not to be made amenable to the laws for his conduct; for it was their opinion, that nothing contributed more towards maintaining the equilibrium of liberty, than that the most powerful should be brought to trial; Cato being used to say, that that commonweal could not be accounted free, which stood in awe of any man. The greatest services joined to the clearest innocence, are not deemed sufficient to justify a general's holding himself unaccountable to the public, whose servant he is, for the administration of whatever is committed to his care.

The best of men have ever lov'd repose;
They hate to mingle in the filthy fray,
Where the soul sours, and gradual rancour grows,
Embitter'd more from peevish day to day,
Even those whom fame has lent her fairest ray.
The most renown'd of worthy wights of yore,
From a base world at last have stolen away;
So Scipio to the soft Cumæan shore,
Retiring, tasted joy he never knew before[2].

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[1] Livy, l. 38, c. 50.

[2] Thomson—Castle of Indolence.

It is the opinion of the writers of the Encyclopædia, that there is not perhaps a person who does greater honour to the Roman republic, than Scipio Africanus, who was accustomed to persuade his soldiers, that he was directed and inspired by the gods; yet after giving this as their opinion, they ask, how it came to pass, that the gods did not inspire him to give in his accounts? To this may be offered the following solution—Scipio could not dispute the constitutional right his enemies had of bringing him to a trial; but the conviction he felt within himself, of his own unspotted innocence, was the true cause of his not pleading in vindication of what, he thought, required no defence. His pride was wounded by unjust suspicion, and his wounded spirit dictated nought but silence. This silence he vainly imagined would have been as eloquent in his justification, as if he had spoken with the tongues of men and of angels. Even Tiberius Gracchus was so convinced of his innocence, that though a resolution had passed for sending the proper officers to compel his appearance to the last tribunitial summons, he interposed his negative, and declared that the apology pleaded in his favour, of ill health, was sufficient; at the same time saying, that Scipio's house should be respected as sacred from all violation, in conside-

ration of his personal merit, and the great public services he had rendered to his country.

The period of the world in which Scipio lived, was the most interesting of any in the histories of Greece or Rome; it was a great moment, and Scipio was equal to it. His birth, according to Valerius Maximus[3], was preordained by the gods, that there might be one man in whom virtue was to appear arrayed in all her native perfection. But characters are sometimes best appreciated by considering them in a comparative point of view, or juxta-position with others. Let us then compare him to the greatest and best men of antiquity, the first Cæsar, and the first Cato; I would rather say, reputed to be the best and greatest, for I am far from thinking them so in reality. Compare the first trait of Cæsar's character, I mean his producing at his aunt's funeral, in defiance of the dictator Sylla, and at the hazard of his own life, the images of Marius[4], a bad citizen, to the first act of Scipio, the saving of his father's life at the battle of the Ticinus,

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[3] V. Maximus, l. 6, c. 9.

[4] Cæsar made a speech in commendation of his aunt Julia, the widow of Marius, and caused images of her to be carried in the funeral procession.—Hooke, vol. iii, p. 304.

and the preservation of the remains of the Roman army after the battle of Cannæ. Compare the unconstitutional commission obtained by Cæsar with immense intrigue for the command in Gaul for ten years, by which he was enabled to raise an army and exercise a power independent of the constitution; and did thereby raise an army which he afterwards marched against Rome. Compare such an act with the honourable manner in which Scipio obtained the government of Spain, when nobody else had the courage to undertake it; and his reconciliation and reconquest of that kingdom to Rome, together with the formation of an army which he afterwards carried into Africa. Compare Cæsar's passing the Rubicon, and driving the senate out of Rome, to Scipio's passing into Africa, and his drawing Hannibal out of Italy. Compare the battle of Pharsalia, fought against a fellow-citizen, and an inferior captain, with that of Zama, fought against the eternal enemy of Rome, and the greatest general that ever lived, except him who conquered him. Compare their subsequent triumphs—that of Cæsar, wherein he exhibited the image of Cato[5], and that of Scipio, in which

[5] Appian notices the circumstance of Cæsar's introducing into his triumph a representation of Cato tearing out his own bowels.

he exhibited the image of Syphax; that of Cæsar over his country, and that of Scipio, which was the triumph of his country over the rest of the world. Let us now compare the consequences that followed the two battles; and first, that of Pharsalia, which was succeeded by the establishment of a tyranny that cursed mankind for ages, over the greatest part of the earth, in the person of one man, until the house of Cæsar had not only disgraced and dishonoured all the great families of the empire, but punished them for their ambition; and then turned on itself, and murdered every soul belonging to it, so that not one remained of the execrable race. Compare such a consequence of the battle of Pharsalia to that of Zama, which placed Rome at the head of the world. Compare Cæsar's ascending the throne in consequence of his victory, possessed of the entire power and wealth of the Roman state, after sacrificing above a million of men to raise himself to that bad eminence, and at the same time projecting the conquest of Parthia, that there should be no end to slavery, or respite to the shedding of blood. Compare all that to Scipio's refusing the consulship and dictatorship for life, and retiring without power, without wealth, and without reward, to the sea-

side, to enjoy solitude, learning, and the conversation of a few chosen friends, together with his own conscious superiority over the rest of his fellow-citizens.

To continue our comparison—compare Cæsar's mercy with that of Scipio; the mercy of the latter, who gave to his captive every thing he had; and the mercy of Cæsar, who robbed his fellow-citizen of his liberty, and left him only his life. Compare Cæsar's gallantry with Cato's sister, to Scipio's continence and amiable demeanour towards the Spanish captive. Behold Scipio appealing to the gods from the accusation brought against him by a dissentious tribune, and Cæsar threatening the officer with death[6], who opposed him when breaking open the treasury. In fine, compare the political intrigues of

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[6] Metellus was the tribune who opposed this violent measure, which caused Cæsar to treat him with great roughness; telling him that it was in vain to talk of laws in the midst of arms, and that he was master not only of the money, but of the lives of all he conquered. The tribune not being intimidated by this language, persevered in his opposition. Cæsar then threatened to kill him, saying, "An ignoras, adolescens, difficilius esse mihi dicere hoc, quàm facere?"—Don't you know, young man, that it is harder for me to say it than to do it?

Cæsar with Clodius, his friendship with Antony, his persecution of Cicero, and his toleration of Catiline, with Scipio's friendship with Lælius, with Ennius, with Sempronius Gracchus, and all the best men of the age in which he lived.

In considering the relative situations of Scipio and Cato, the following circumstances are not undeserving of attention, as they serve to illustrate their respective characters. Cato had not the opportunities which Scipio possessed: he had not the command of the Spanish war, nor of the riches of the East; but as he had not the opportunities, he consequently had not the merit arising from them. Cato protested against the luxuries of the East, and the existence of Carthage; Scipio resisted the first, and subdued the latter, by which he made the censor his involuntary panegyrist. Scipio opposed the malice of his country in the persecution of Hannibal; Cato fomented this malice, in her persecution of the conquered city of Carthage, and assisted in abetting a false charge against a man who had saved his country, in this point of view becoming a seditious incendiary against innocence and virtue. Cato persevered in keeping alive the people's ingratitude and injustice; by doing which, Scipio's brother was tried and found guilty; but as the grounds of his conviction

were not sufficient, the condemned man was acquitted, and his persecutors confuted. This disingenuous conduct on the part of the censor, in addition to his uniform persecution of Scipio, brings Cato down to his proper standard of estimation, a first-rate in rigour, a second-rate in virtue.

In our comparison of Scipio with Cæsar, we omitted to observe, that the only point wherein their characters can admit of equality, is in the art of war, and even in this respect, it is no easy matter to ascertain their comparative merits; for it is to be observed, that though Cæsar was allowed to possess the first-rate talents for war, he never had to contend with a first-rate general. The two greatest battles ever fought, were those of Zama and Pharsalia, for the one gave the world to Rome, and the other gave it to Cæsar. In the first, Scipio conquered the most consummate general that ever lived; and in the last, Cæsar fought against a second-rate general, and would have been beaten, had he fought against a first, for Hannibal, in Pompey's situation, would have conquered, and the dynasty of the Cæsars had never existed[7]. The pre-eminence

[7] On one occasion Cæsar said to his friends—"This day the victory would have been the enemy's, had their general (Pompey) known how to conquer."

of men is ascertained with some tolerable precision when they undertake, and successfully perform, that from which other men withdraw, or that which other men oppose. Scipio undertook the government of Spain, which all appeared to decline; and he carried the war into the enemy's country, at the time the enemy was in his own, in direct opposition to the opinion of most men of that day[8], but since admitted by all great generals to be a wise stratagem of war.

I have dwelt the longer on the comparison of Scipio and Cæsar, because the world is ever disposed to prefer courage to justice, though the one we have in common with the brutes, the other with the Deity; for if, among the ancients, some men have been esteemed heroes by the achievements of great conquests and victories, it has been by the wise institution of laws and government, that others have been honoured and esteemed as gods.

To conclude, Scipio was equal in courage, and superior in every other consideration, to Cato and Cæsar; he was greater than the greatest of bad men, and better than the reputed best of good ones.

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[8] Cicero, in allusion to this circumstance, says in his fourth oration against Catiline, "Sit Scipio clarus, ille, cujus consiliô atque virtutê Hannibal in Africam redire, atque ex Italia decedere coactus est."

APPENDIX.

No. I.

THE Abbé Seran de la Tour, in his Life of Scipio Africanus, says, I have seen this shield, the memorial of Allucius's gratitude, in the King of France's cabinet of medals; it contains forty-six marks of pure silver, and is twenty-six inches in diameter. The plain uniform taste which is observed through the whole design, in the attitudes and the contours, shews the simplicity of the arts in those days, when they avoided all foreign ornaments, to be the more attentive to natural beauties.

Jephson, in his Roman Portraits, has given an engraving of this *Clypeus Votivus*, taken from Drakenborch's Silius Italicus, of which he mentions its dimensions, its weight, &c. Now, if the figures described on it are such as are represented in the engraving, there can, I think, be no doubt of its being intended for the story in the text; and yet Northleigh, in his Travels, is of opinion, that the engraved piece of sculpture cannot be a buckler. See a Dissertation sur les Boucliers Votifs, Acad. des Inscriptions. Ce Bouclier, que Scipion emporta avec lui en retournant

à Rome, fut englouti par les eaux au passage du Rhone avec une partie du baggage. Il etoit demeuré dans ce fleuve jusqu' en 1665, que quelques pecheurs le trouverent. Il est aujourd'hui dans le cabinet du Roi de France.

Montfaucon gives a representation of the shield, and seems to entertain no doubt of its authenticity. It was published by Spon, and taken from the cabinet of M. du May, of Lyons. The same writer mentions the pummel of a sword, on which were engraved the words, *Carthago, duce Hannibale, subacta gladio et virtute Scipionis;* but of this he has great doubts.

No. II.

HOOKE, in noticing the story in the text, says, I would not wish the reader to believe Valerius Antias, who reports that Scipio acted a quite contrary part to what is given him by Livy. Aulus Gellius (on whom the Roman historian relies) says, it is related, though he knows not whether truly or otherwise, that Scipio, when a young man, was not immaculate, it appearing from Cneius Nævius the poet, that "he who often carried on great affairs with glory, whose exploits yet live, and flourish, who alone is renowned among mortals, was by his father led away in his shirt from his mistress."

This is the account, says Aulus Gellius, which induced Valerius Antias to express himself as he has done, concerning the morality of Scipio, in contradiction to all other writers, and to say that the captive damsel was not restored to her relations, but was detained by Scipio, and used by him for his own private gratification. But then it may be asked, what dependence can be placed on the evidence of a poet, who was in the constant habit of lampooning the nobility of Rome in his writings, and who for a libel was thrown into prison? And in the next place, what evidence can be given to Valerius Antias, whose authority is called in question, both by Livy

and Aulus Gellius, the former saying that little credit is due to an historian who in the instance of amplification was most intemperate? And it is well known, that he who will amplify on one occasion, will diminish on another, it being the same intemperate passion that carries him indifferently to either. How light and inconsiderable is sometimes the matter which subjects the best-established characters to the suspicion of posterity, which, observes Bishop Warburton, is as often malignant to virtue, as the age which saw it in its insufferable glory; and how ready is it to catch at a low revived slander, which the times that brought it forth, saw despised and forgotten in its birth?

One would have hoped so mean a slander as that uttered by Valerius Antias, might have slept forgotten in Aulus Gellius's common-place book, and yet we see it quoted as a fact by a noble writer, in his Patriot King. His words are: "Now the reputation of the first Scipio was not so clear and uncontroverted in private as in public life; nor was he allowed by all to be a man of such severe virtue as he affected, and as that age required. Nævius was thought to mean him, in some verses Gellius has preserved; and Valerius Antias made no scruple to assert, that far from restoring the fair Spaniard to her family, he debauched and kept her.

"Notwithstanding this, what authority did he not

maintain? In what esteem did he not live and die? With what panegyrics has not the whole torrent of writers rolled down his reputation, even to these days? This could not have happened, if the vice imputed to him, had shewn itself in any scandalous appearances, to eclipse the lustre of the general, the consul, or the citizen."

From what has been stated of the characters of such a poet as Nævius, and such an historian as Valerius Antias, we are concerned to find their slander advanced by one of the finest writers of the age in which he lived, to such a degree of credit, as may have induced many superficial readers and warm admirers of Lord Bolingbroke's writings, to call in question the reputation of the greatest and best man of ancient Rome. But if a man was pure as snow, he would not escape calumny.

No. III.

THE following observations are taken from De La Lande's Travels in Italy, and which occurred to him on visiting Liternum.

"Ce grand homme, vainqueur d'Annibal, de Syphax, et de Carthage, à qui les Romains avoient offert de le créer consul et dictateur perpetuel, etoit en butte à Caton, ce rigide censeur, qui n'avoit jamais loué personne, et qui ne cessoit d'aboyer, *allatrare*, suivant l'expression de Tite Live—Scipion fut accusé de peculat: on pretendoit qu'il avoit vendu la paix à Antiochus; mais au lieu de se justifier, il dit tout haut, "Romains c'est à pareil jour que j'ai vaincu Annibal, allons en remercier les Dieux:" tout le monde le suivit, et ses accusateurs furent abandonnés. Cependant Scipion indigné de cette accusation, se retira dans sa maison de campagne près de Literne, où il mourut 187 ans avant Jesus Christ. Il y fut enterré avec le poete Ennius qu'il avoit toujours aimé, et qui avoit chanté ses victoires. On voyoit sur son tombeau cette inscription, *ingrata patria nec ossa mea habebis;* et l'on croit que le mot *patria* qu'on voit sur cette tour, est le reste de l'inscription."

No. IV.

THE following extract is taken from a letter of Seneca to Lucilius, which I give, as serving to mark the respect which was entertained for the character of Scipio in his time.

"I write to you, Lucilius, from the villa of Scipio Africanus, after rendering due homage to the manes and tomb of that great man, wherein I suspect his ashes repose. I have no doubt of his soul being returned to Heaven, from whence it came; and this opinion I hold, not because he commanded mighty armies, but because he possessed great moderation and great piety, virtues which were more to be admired in him when he left his country, than when he defended it.

"That Scipio must be deprived of Rome, or Rome of liberty, became a matter of necessity. "I do not wish (says Scipio) to lessen the respect that is due to the laws and constitution of my country. Let all its citizens enjoy equal rights. Reap, my countrymen, the advantage of what good I have done you. I have been the cause of your liberty, and will give you a proof of it myself. If I am grown greater than what is consistent with your safety, for your safety I will leave you."

"How is it possible not to admire that magnani-

mity of soul, under the impression of which he went into voluntary banishment, for the purpose of delivering the city from all their apprehensions on his account! for when he found that matters were come to such a pass, that either liberty was to offer violence to Scipio, or Scipio to liberty, of which neither was to be done, he yielded to the laws, and retired to Literum, making his exile a subject of as great reproach to Rome, as was that of Hannibal's to Carthage.

" Whilst at Literum I saw his villa, which was built of square stone, and surrounded by a wall that enclosed a wood; the wall was flanked with towers, that served as bulwarks on each side for its defence. Near the house and gardens was a cistern, sufficient to supply with water a whole army. I examined his bath, which was narrow and gloomy, after the ancient fashion, our ancestors being of opinion, that a bath could not be warm enough, unless it was close. Here, in this sequestered spot, Scipio, (the terror of Carthage, and the man to whom Rome was indebted for not being twice captured), used to bathe his body, after being fatigued with rustic toils. In this place he employed himself daily in husbandry, and tilled the ground with his own hands, as his forefathers had done before him. Under this low and sordid roof stood Scipio, disdaining not to tread its plain earthen floor. But what Roman now adays

would thus condescend to bathe? In this bath I observed some chinks, rather than windows, which were cut out of the stone wall, to let in the light, in such a way as not to injure the strength of the building. Doubtless it was delightful to enter into these baths, dark as they were, and plastered with common mortar, that might have been tempered by the hands of Cato when ædile, or Fabius Maximus, or some one of the Cornelian family.

"It is true, certain people might condemn Scipio for not admitting the sun into his baths by large casements, or for not scalding himself in open light, or for not being more anxious about having his meals fully digested in a bath. I pity the poor man, say they; he knew not how to live. He washed not himself in clarified water, but was content with what was muddy, after a heavy shower of rain. Nor did he care whether he bathed so or not; for he came not to wash away perfumes, but sweat, the effect of his labour.

"I don't envy Scipio, (some of our fine modern folks might say); he lived in exile, and had little or no taste for bathing. Besides, he did not bathe every day; for if any credit is given to those who have written on the ancient customs of the city, our ancestors used to wash only their legs and arms every day, which by labour had contracted dirt, but their entire body only once on the ninth, or market-day.

" Here again some body may exclaim, Surely our ancestors must have been great slovens! What do you suppose they smelt of? I will tell you. They smelt of military duty, hard labour, and manly exercises. For my part, since the discovery of costly baths, I think men have become more offensive; and what says Horace, in speaking of such effeminate sparks?

Pastillos Rufillus olet, Gorgonius hircum.

SENECA, *Epist.* 86.

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